A SYNCHRONIC GRAMMAR OF ORIYA
(Standard spoken and written)

BIJAY PRASAD MAHAPATRA

Central Institute of Indian Languages
Manasagangotri, Mysore -570 006

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India

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To

My Father

- Buḍha

FOREWORD

In the Yahoo-Singapore site, I found a question "Where do bottled waters come from?" and the best response as chosen by the 'asker': "Bottled water comes from a variety of sources, including many of the same sources from which tap water originates. Sometimes the water you can buy in a bottle is simply tap water from a municipal water system that has been enhanced in some way. Other sources of bottled water include springs, wells, and surface waters". The next question was even more interesting: "Where do grammars come from?" It was a four month old question begging a response from the web-surfers, but alas! There was none.

In an interesting blog -the expression platform used so frequently by the young today (http://www.bruceclay.com/blog/archives/2007/03/good_grammar_co.html) I saw this interesting point about whether spelling and grammars' matter and whether today's search engines and computer geeks care about them. Let me quote from this page from Bruce Clay people who are international consultants. It mentions an experimental post written by Graywolf, which reads like this:

> "Hih eferyone. Wilcome abroad de Wult Desney Wurld Eckspress Munorail. Wesa nuw embarkeng un e seenic jurney uver de Hiway en de Ski. Wesa bi travellin nunstop dierectly tu de Megic Kingdum, seew wesa esk det yousa remane seatid et ull tymes end nu eatin, drinken, smokeing, er flashin photograpin pleeze."

Then they show that one could still read the above as a user of English. One could even guess that it was about the Walt Disney World. However, for any engine that is used as a grammar-checker, it looks a lot like keyword-mashing spam. There's no language anywhere in site. In fact,

one used that page as a case study, to see what the engines like Google do with it to show that the "search engines have the capability to distinguish words, stemming and language" (ibid. Bruce Clay), although it is not the case that "Google is out to become the grammar police".
Even in today's mechanized world, and in the world dominated by easing tools like spell- checkers and grammar-checkers etc, there is a strong need to write good grammars. I have been urging our senior linguists to come up with serious grammatical treatises that are not necessarily colored in any theory but are so comprehensive that every one is compelled to use them. Prof. Bijoy Mahapatra, who once belonged to us at CIIL but who later rose to become the Chief of Census of India's 'Language Division' at Kolkata, was kind enough to have obliged us. The book we present here is. an evidence of his wide reading and true scholarship.

Jean Cocteau is credited to have said, "The greatest masterpiece in literature is only a dictionary out of order". In the beginning, the western world knew only of glossaries that were products of notes scholars made on the margin of difficult texts - originally written in Latin. In the Indian set-up, the commentaries or the *Tiikaas* served that purpose. It is only later that we discovered the nitty-gritty of the rules that made these texts, i.e. the grammars.

In fact, many dictionaries were also so created as to attach style manuals and a set of strict rules of usage, as the French dictionary - *Dictionnaire de l Académie française* (1693) had done. The lexicographers often began dictating the correct usage and definition from above a certain height, as it were. The proliferation in dictionary-making activity had another reason. But dictionaries became commercial and specialized tools with the publication of Webster's and Worcester's, and the task of writing grammars has been left to the specialists.

At this institute, we expect that this grammar will be heavily used by the teachers and researchers as a tool and will also be found useful by the Oriya speech community in general. Both Professor Mahapatra and the Institute would feel rewarded if the users derive maximum benefit *out* of this work.

The suggestions, comments, criticisms from all those who may use this teaching material will be most welcome. Specific comments on the aspect of production, including typographical and other errors that may have crept in or stylistic changes could be sent to Mr. S.B. Biswas, Manager, CIIL Press (e-mail: biswas@ciil.stpmy.soft.net), who heads the Publication Unit.

Mysore
17/07/2007

Udaya Narayana Singh
Director

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In keeping with our tradition I will begin with acknowledging my indebtedness to my Gurus - H.A. Gleason(Jr), G.H.Fairbanks, A.M.Ghatage at Deccan College, Poona, and C.E.Bazell at S.O.A.S., London and then the great linguists who have given me immense pleasure and insight through their writings- L.Hjelmslev, Roman Jacobson, Noam Chomsky and the Oriya scholar Pt. Nilakantha Das and the celebrated anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss.

Among seniors, colleagues, friends and co-workers with whom I have spent many enlightening hours at different stages of my professional life, whom I would like to mention are: D.P.Pattanayak, V.I.Subramonium, Bh. Krishnamurthy, P.B.Pandit, N.H.Zide, Heinz Kloss, David Stampe, Stanley Starostra, Grant MacConnel, and my wife Ranganayaki.

A few scholars who were my junior colleagues or were students, who have contributed to my understanding of the language are J.V.Boulton of S.O.A.S., London and D.M. Matson of Wisconsin University and my co-workers J.Rajathi and Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya at Language Division, Calcutta.

The work has taken nearly three years to complete after my retirement, although my pre-occupation with Oriya language goes back, right to the beginning of my career as a linguist. During this period, I have written both in Oriya and English on various aspects of the language sporadically, which has given me some recognition in my home state and else where. But I never thought I would be able to complete an Oriya Grammar, particularly when my health was playing truant with me, and that of others near and dear to me. Finally, the book is going to see the light of the day. I am singularly indebted for this to the Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, Prof. Uday Narayan Singh who not only accepted the volume for publication but held several options before me to choose from. I am also very grateful to others of the institute, many of whom were my ex-colleagues, like-Prof.K.Ramasamy, Prof.A.K. Basu, Dr.S.N. Burman, Principal, E.R.L.C., Dr. Mallikarjun A.O., and Dr. I.S.Borkar, Jr.Research Officer. Without their help, the publication side of this work would have put me to many unwarranted difficulties. I can happily look forward now to bringing out an Oriya version of this work as early as possible. I am also particularly indebted to Dr.B.N.Pattanaik and Dr R.Nakkeerar for many valuable help.

B.P.MAHAPATRA

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CHAPTER- I

Introduction

1.1 Oriya is the official language of the State of Orissa and is specified in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India. According to the 1991 Census - the latest published census data, the Orissa state covering an area of 1,55,707 square kilometer, is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, by Andhra Pradesh on the south, West Bengal on the north, Bihar on the north-west and Madhya Pradesh on the west. Of the state's total population of 31,659,736, the Oriya language speakers are 26,199,346, forming an over-whelming 82.75 percent of the state total.

1.2 Prehistorically divided into two halves by the Vindhya mountains, the Uttarāpatha and the Dakṣiṇāpatha, the two major prehistoric racio-culture groups were destined to live isolated existences in these two divisions but for the coastal plains of Orissa which became a link between Dakṣiṇāpatha and Āryāvarta. On the soil of Orissa, began the fusion of the two great civilizations– Aryan and Dravidian, under the benign mediation of a third civilization, that of the autochthons- popularly called Savara (i.e. Munda-Speaking tribes of Austroasiatic family). This reality made Pandit Nilakantha Das observe that although Oriya is basically

an Aryan language, it has two distinct substrata, one that is Dravidian and the other Munda. This is the very foundation of the Oriya language and also that of Oriya social customs, art, architecture, literature, religion and the ethos. In understanding the character of the Oriya civilization in the total Indian context, this uniqueness of the Oriya language must not be undervalued. This compositeness is the central theme of Oriya culture including the language which is a product of the confluence of three major civilizations : the Arya, the Dravida and the Savara (i.e. the Munda).

Historian Manmatha Nath Das says, geography not only cause Orissa to be a meeting ground of primary races and primal cultures but also made it the gateway of India for Farther Asia. It was the people of Kaḷiṅga (ancient name of Orissa), by virtue of their geographical situation, championed the over-sea expansion of India most successfully and became the pioneer founders of Indian colonies across the oceans. Malaysia still preserves the tradition regarding their early ancestors that twenty thousand were sent to Java by Prince of the Kling (Kalinga).

Alouthough by the early part of the 12th century most of the North India including Bengal fell to the Muslim invaders, Orissa remained an independent Hindu Kingdom for another glorious five hundered years under the powerful Ganga kings and following them the Surya kings or the Gajapati kings of Orissa. The period from the beginning of the 12th century till the end of the 16th century is considered the renaissance period of the Orissa history and culture. The Ganga kings of Orissa who were of Dravidian origin were totally assimilated in Orissa. When they were succeeded by the Gajapati kings, the entire tract between the

two rivers Ganga in the north and the Godavari in the south was under Oriya dominance. The empire, while unifying the Oriya-speaking areas also held large tracts of Dravidian speaking areas under its sway.

The glories of Orissa ended in latter half of the 16th century. Two centuries later, the British administered the final blows by dismembering the original territory into several administrative units kept under adjacent presidencies and provinces. This was a period of economic misery and political disintegration for the Oriyas, until a very truncated Orissa province as a separate administrative unit was carved out on April 1, 1936. Finally in 1955, the state boundaries in India were redesigned and the present boundaries of the Orissa state were redelineated at that time. Until the 1991 census data was processed and published, the state had only 13 administrative districts which have now become 30.

1.3 The principal name with which the language is identified in English spelling is Oriya, but the language name as pronounced by the native speakers is [Oṛiā]. The people who speak this language as their mother tongue are also called Oriya-[Oṛiā], and the state, which is named after these people and their language is called Orissa- [Oṛisā].

1.3.1 Genetically, the language belongs to the Eastern branch of the Indo-Aryan sub-family of the Indo-European family of languages. The immediate cognates of this language are Bengali and Assamese (See for further details: Pattanayak, D.P.1966., A Controlled Historical Reconstruction of Oriya,Assamese, Bengali and Hindi,Mouton.)

Evidence of Old Oriya, going by the early inscriptions, dates from the 10th century onwards. The first account of Oriya language was by M.M. Chakravorty, whose 'Notes on the Language and Literature of Orissa', was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Beṇgal of 1897 and 1898. Earlier, John Beames (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1883, Comparative Grammer, 1872), and also A.F.R.Hoernle(1880) had already made a case for establishing Oriya as an independent language. G.A.Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, 1903(Vol.V.Part II) confirmed this position further. After him, it was the renowned linguist S.K.Chatterjee's 'Origin and Development of Bengali Language', 1926, elaborated the history of Oriya language further. However, K.B.Tripathy's 'The Evolution of Oriya language and Script',1962, for the first time presented a number of early Oriya documents in stone and copper plates, tracing the development of the Oriya script in particular. In his chronological classification of the inscriptions, he delineates the four stages of development of Oriya writing. These are:

1. Dakṣiṇa nāgarī—1010 or 1051 A.D. This so-called Urjam inscription, which is considered the earliest evidence of an independent Oriya writing, is in this script. Also are the copper plates of the Gaṅga kings of Kaḷiṅganagara.
2. **Proto-Oriya**- From 11th to 14th century A.D. This variety was used throughout the eastern India and Tripathy claims that Oriya Script has evolved from this variety, particularly by rounding the upper part of the letters. The inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings (1077 to 1434 A.D.) are written in this variety.
3. North nāgarī or Devanāgarī- Only one Oriya inscription of 1403 A.D. is written in this script.
4. **Old Oriya**-From 15th century onwards; most of the Oriya inscriptions are written in this script.

Given these four varieties of scripts prevailing in writing Oriya from 11th century onward, Tripathy sets up four chronological stages till the modern times. These are:

1. **Southern Kalinga Lipi-** 11th Century
2. **Proto-Oriya Lipi-** 11th to 14th Century
3. **Old Oriya Lipi-** 14th to 16th Century
4. **Modern Oriya Lipi-** From 16th century onwards.

Given this beginning of writing Oriya from 11th century onwards, the birth of the spoken language can be safely taken a few centuries back to 7th or 8th centuries.

Apart from inscriptions a vast and varied amount of written literature, both in prose and poetry, right from the 12th century palm leaf chronicles or the Māḍaḷā Pāñjiof the Jagannath Temple, Puri till the modern times, have faithfully preserved the various historical phases and the regional variations of the language. Yet, it should be noted with some amount of leniency that Oriya language with its almost fourteen hundred years of history and its varied locale, shows remarkable homogeneity both in time and space. The reason behind this resistance for change is perhaps mainly due to a strong centralized seat of power of the Oriya kings and more importantly, due to ceaseless propagation of written literature from very early time till date throughout the length and breadth of the language area.

Therefore, we find that the language has remained fairly stable throughout its history, lacking in many distinct diachronic stages excepting perhaps two, i.e. old Oriya and modern Oriya. Similarly, geographically the language varies but little in spite of many physical and social barriers. Excepting a few social dialect

pockets, which are generally limited to insulated tribal or caste groups, the language has no major regional dialect except Sambalpuri or the 'western dialect'. Otherwise, the varieties generally used by people of varied background are remarkably close to the standard variety and have remained so throughout its history.

1.4 The Oriya language area is bound by three distinct language areas,i.e. Telugu in the south and south-west, Chattisgarhi(Hindi) in the west and Bengali in the north. But it is the hinterland of Orissa, or its internal lingustic composition , that is of more consequence. It has been already said that the internal linguistic composition of Orissa state, consists of many tribal groups, who linguistically belong to two distinct language families – Dravidian and Munda. As per the latest Linguisitic Survey of Orissa only four districts-Puri, Cuttack, Dhenkanal, and Bolangir of the 13 districts have an Oriya speaking majority of 90 percent and above; five districts – Ganjam, Baleshwar, Kendujhar, Sambalpur and Kalahandi between 70 and 90 percent; three districts – Mayurbhanj, Phulbani and Koraput between 50 and 70 percent, and the rest Sundargarh has between 20 and 50 percent. (Ref. Linguistic Survey of India: Orissa, 2003. Language Division, Office of the Registrar General India, New Delhi).

Barring a few small linguistic groups below 10,000 population like Didei, Bonda, etc., there are as many as 13 major tribes falling into two different linguistic families. These tribes of Orissa are:

1. **Dravidian**

   Kui, Khond/Kondh, Kisan, Kurukh/Oraon, Gondi, Koya,etc. (other distinct linguistic groups of this family are: Kuvi, Gadaba (Ollari),etc.)

2. **Munda**

Santali, Munda, Ho, Kharia, Mundari, Bhumij, Savara, (other distinct linguistic groups of this family are: Bonda, Didei, Gadaba(Gutob), Juang, Parengi,etc.)

(Ref. For district-wise data of Oriya and other major languages, including the tribal languages of Orissa, see, Language Atlas of India 1991,2004, Annexure IV, Census of India, New Delhi).

Given this linguistic milieu, close linguistic relationship of give and take has developed among these groups over centuries of symbiotic coexistence. Oriya thus, although genetically an Indo-Aryan language has either inherited or assimilated a number of features, which are distinctly of Dravidian or Munda origin. This compositeness is the central theme of the Oriya culture as a whole.

1.5 It has been already said that Oriya is reasonably free of random dialect variation and more importantly it can boast of a fairly well established standard variety, generally spoken and understood by the educated speakers irrespective of caste, creed and location. The standard Oriya is based mainly on the variety spoken around the coastal areas of Puri and Cuttack districts. The same variety is also commonly followed in the written language.

Among the major dialects of Oriya, the main isoglossic divide marks the two regional dialect areas commonly known as western dialect area and coastal Oriya. The dialect spoken in the western districts of Orissa, comprising of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Boudha, is called "Sambalpuri" and presently a movement is afoot in this region to call it "Kosali" –a "language" separate from Oriya, or more specifically the "Kaṭki Oṛiā". Sambalpuri however, is the only true geographical dialect of Oriya.

All other varieties of speech which have been identified as distinct varieties of Oriya in the 2003 Linguistic Survey of the speech area, consists of a few varieties spoken largely by small, isolated backward caste and tribal groups. Only three of these varieties are returned by the speakers with distinct names as their 'mothertongues'. These are Bhatri, Paraja (Proja) and Relli. At least two of these mother tongues are mainly returned from outside the boundaries of Orissa- Bhatri by the Bhatra tribe of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and the Relli by the Relli community of Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh.

The above mentioned 2003 Orissa Linguistic Survey however, lists a total number of 9 or 10 distinct varieties of Oriya, named after their communities. These are Bhatri, Bhuyan, Kandha, Dal, Sahara/Saora, Binjhal, Sabar Gondo and the rest are two caste groups like Relli and Kela.

Of these social varieties, my own elaborate study of the Bhuyan variety of Oriya in 1960 and published in two articles elsewhere is now reprinted in the 2003 survey volume. This dialect spoken by the Bhuyan tribe of Keonjhar, is indeed a very distinct tribal dialect of Oriya. The other Oriya variety Paraja of Koraput, listed as 'Proja', in the census of 1991, is now identified as 'Desia'- spoken by the local tribes as well as the caste groups as a mother tongue. For detailed description of all these Oriya varieties including isoglossic maps, see the Orissa volume of the Linguistic Survey of India,2003 New Delhi.

As regards the stylistic variations in Oriya, two norms are generally referred to as standard spoken and standard written. These are named as Kathita Oṛiā and Likhita Oṛiā respectively in local parlance. The difference between these two varieties is negligible

barring a few exceptions both-lexical and grammatical, peculiar to the styles. Therefore, for its speakers the style-shift from Oral to Written and vice-versa has hardly been a strenuous exercise. The oral-standard variety is generally heard in radio, television, cinema, cassettes and public speaking while the written-standard in literature and news media.

1.6 As per the latest published census data of 1991, the total population of Orissa state stood at 31,659,736, covering an area of 1,55,707 spuare kilometer, divided into thirteen districts. Barring some coastal districts like Puri, Cuttack, Ganjam, Balasore, etc, where the Oriyas have densely settled, a large number of tribes like Savara, Kandha, Juang, Santal, Bhumia, Paraja, etc, numbering around 62, are widely distributed throughout the state and constitute some 22.3 percent of the total population of Orissa.

(Ref. Census of India 1991, series 19. Orissa part II-A General Population Tables)

1.6.1 Oriya language, the tenth largest in India is one of the scheduled languages of India and is the official language of the Orissa state. It has the following demolinguistic profile as per the 1991 census.

Tables :

i) Oriya Language

India	Persons	Male	Female
Total	28,061,313	14,305,077	13,756,236
Rural	24,388,823	12,298,079	12,090,744
Urban	3,672,490	2,006,998	1,665,492

Orissa	Persons	Male	Female	Proportion
Total	26,199,346	13,310,374	12,888,972	-
Rural	23,063,312	11,624,489	11,438,823	88.03
Urban	3,136,034	1,685,885	1,450,149	11.97

ii) Oriya Mother Tongue

India:	Persons	Male	Female
Total	27,586,476	14,069,069	13,517,407
Rural	23,954,396	12,082,328	11,872,068
Urban	3,632,080	1,986,741	1,645,339

Orissa:	Persons	Male	Female	Proportion
Total	25,908,888	13,166,266	12,742,622	-
Rural	22,794,744	11,491,317	11,303,427	87.98
Urban	3,114,144	1,674,949	1,439,195	12.02

iii) Mother tongues classified under Oriya Language.

Mother Tongues	Speaker Strength
Oriya	27,586,476
Bhatri	218,073
Proja(Paraja)	118,726
Relli	14,307
Sambalpuri	40,519
Others	83,212
Oriya Language Total	28,061,313

iv) Fifteen numerically biggest languages in Orissa

i) Fifteen numerically biggest languages in Orissa

Languages	Persons	Propotion To State Total Population	Urban	Rural
1. **Oriya**	26,199,346	82.75	23,063,312 (Proportion) 88.03	3,136,034 11.97
2. **Hindi**	759,016	2.40		
3. **Telugu**	665,001	2.10		
4. **Santali**	661,849	2.09		
5. **Kui**	636,005	2.01		
6. **Urdu**	502,102	1.59		
7. **Bengalli**	442.971	1.40		
8. **Ho**	292,619	0.92		
9. **Munda**	253,206	0.80		
10. **Savara**	214,523	0.68		
11. **Khond/Kondh**	193.775	0.61		
12. **Kisan**	160.704	0.51		
13. **Mundari**	145,097	0.46		
14. **Koya**	101,752	0.32		
15. **Kharia**	89,336	0.28		
16. **Others**	342,434	1.08		
All Total	31,659,736	100.00	27,424,753	4,234,983
		(Proportion)	86.62	13.38

1.6.2. Bilingualism and trilingualism in census 1991, with reference to Orissa, mentions that in comparison to the rate of national bilingualism at 19.44 percent, Orissa has slightly lower percentage of 18.79. But with regard to the national average rate of trilingualism at 7.26 percent, Orissa has slightly higher percentage of 9.22.

:Tables:

1. Major language speakers returning Oriya as second and third language in Orissa.

A. Scheduled languages

	Total Speakers	Bilingual in Oriya	Trilingual in Oriya
Bengali	4,42,971	1,30,915	15,531
Gujarati	22.636	4,325	2,710
Hindi	7,59,016	2,32,983	23,101
Malayalam	16,246	1,788	1,232
Nepali	9,689	1,396	1,198
Punjabi	21,205	3,855	1,292
Tamil	11,502	2,218	740
Telegu	6,65,001	2,19,476	16,630
Urdu	5,02,102	1,63,623	20,210

B. Non-scheduled languages

		Bilingual	Trilingual	Total Bilingual Speakers
Bhumij	27,669	12,188	nil	12,742
Gadaba	18,927	8,517	94	8,895
Gondi	51,948	5,726	261	8,324
Ho	2,92,619	1,06,749	nil	1,14,060
Juang	16,848	8,673	nil	8,673
Kharia	89,336	39,287	2,669	46,875
Khond/	1,93,775	63,667	nil	64,656

Kondh				
Kisan	1,60,704	89,190	1,607	93,207
Koya	1,01,752	14,760	nil	16,288
Kui	6,36,005	2,28,072	3,124	2,40,792
Kurukh/ Oraon	85,358	32,007	2,987	41,824
Munda	2,53,206	93,734	3,803	1,07,665
Mundari	1,45,097	60,979	1,451	66,790
Parji	7,222	3,213	36	3,322
Santalli	6,61,849	2,42,030	3,340	2,52,050
Savara	2,14,523	78,049	1,045	85,530

It may be noted here that unlike the scheduled languages of the State (Table-I.A.). the major non-scheduled languages(Table-I.B.) may have relatively lower number of bilingual speakers, but the language of bulingulism for them is predominantly Oriya. This of course is quite natural considering the fact that these languages are spoken by the tribes who form a part of the native population of the state and are indispensable to its linguistic character.

2. Major languages returned by Oriya bilinguals

This table gives the figures of bilingual and trilingual returns for Oriya mother tongue speakers with breakups for the main two languages in which they are bilingual.

Oriya Mother Tongue Bilingualism	**Bilinguals**	**Trilinguals**	**Percentage**
26,199,346	T-3,688,978	T. 2,374,797	14.08
	1. English-2,898,784	1. Hindi-1,846,596	11.06
	2. Hindi- 790,194	2. English- 528,201	3.02

[All tables in this section are after the Linguistic Survey of India: Orissa, 2003, Language Division, R.G.I. N.Delhi).

1.7.1 The 'Status' of language accrues from two main sources- linguistic and legal. The linguistic autonomy of a language is established by its intrinsic distance or Abstand from all other systems or by its development through oral and literary activities or Ausbau. India being viewed as a comprehensive linguistic 'area', there exists many linguistic zones of high intensity communication and contact. As a result, intrinsic distance between languages may not prove definitive as in the cases of Bengali/Assamese, Hindi/Punjabi, Marathi/Konakni, Tamil/Malayalam, etc. Therefore, most major languages of India are established more as 'tools of advanced societies and cultures', rather than by distinctive linguistic characteristics. Many of these languages have independent histories going back several centuries in time. The attitude of speakers reinforce the distinct ethnolinguistic communities which are built around this experience. It is in this context, that the process of standardization has to be viewed as a part of over all language development. Although Oriya with respect to its both spoken and written norms is a fairly unified language at least one of its main dialects 'Sambalpuri' is now claiming for an independent identity and a movement to that effect is now in progress as 'Kosali' language movement. The Sambalpuri dialect which is yet to develop a cogent norm and an independent identity, is still has to go a long way before it acquires a full fledged language status.

The other dimension through which status accrues to a language is legal. The Indian Constitution which is the fountain-head of official language policy, defines the primary status-oriented juridical role of the Indian languages. The specific provisions

contained in the Constitution of India on the language question are to be found in part XVII, entitled Official Language. These provisions – articles 343 to 351 are organized in four chapters: Chapter I – Language of the Union (Articles 343,344), Chapter II – Regional Languages (Articles 341 – 347), Chapter III – Language of the Supreme Court, High Courts, etc. (Articles 348,351) and Chapter IV – Special Directives (Articles 350,351). To articles 344(1) and 355 has been appended the Eighth Schedule to the constitution. Secondly, article 345 allows the Legislature of a State to adopt any one or more languages in use in the State(or Hindi) for use for all official purposes. As per these two legal provisions, the constitutional status of the Oriya language is, it is one of the 'Schedule VIII Languages' of India, and it is also the official language of the Orissa state by an enactment of the Orissa Legisture, titled 'Official Language Act-1954.'

1.8 It has been already said that Oriya has a fairly long history of written tradition beginning perhaps with stone inscriptions and copper plates, and culminating in a vast and varied written literature both in prose and poetry, preserved from 12th century A.D. onwards. 'Mādaḷā Pānjī' or chronicles of the famous Jagannath Temple of Puri, shows a series of well documented early prose pieces beginning from the 12th century. With regard to poetry, the first significant contribution appears to have been made by the famous 15th century poet Sāraḷā Dāsa with his work Mahābhārata, along with his contemporaries namely Bacchā Dāsa and Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa. This is considered as the 'Ādi Juga' or the Early period of the Oriya literature. The period from late 15th to early 17th century is the 'Panchasakhā Juga', or the period of the five famous Vaishnava poets: Baḷarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha

Dāsa, Achyutānanda Dāsa, Jasobanta Dāsa and Ananta Dāsa, and many other famous poets like Arjuna Dāsa, Debadurlabha Dāsa, Mādhabi Dāsi, Raghu Arakhita, etc. The next period, usually called 'Riti Juga' or the period of classical poetry, marked by the Kāvyas of Upendra Bhanja, is from the late 17th century till the beginning of the 'Ādhunika Juga' or the modern period. This period, characterized by the classical style of the great poet Upendra Bhanja, had also many famous contributors like – Dhananjaya Bhanja, Sālbeg, Dinakruṣṇa Dāsa, Abhimanyu Sāmantasinhāra, Banamāḷi, Biswanātha Khuṇṭiā, Brajanātha Baḍajenā, Bhaktacharaṇa Dāsa, Baḷadeba Ratha, Gopāḷakruṣṇa Paṭanāyaka, Jadumaṇi Mahāpātra, Bhima Bhoi, and many others. The advent of the Ādhunika Juga or the modern period of the Oriya literature triggered by the British occupation of Orissa in 1803, the opening of the first English School at Puri in 1835 and the first casting of Oriya types in 1836, is marked by the illustrious triumvirate Fakirmohana Senapati (1843-1918). Radhanath Ray (1848-1908), and Madhusudan Rao (1853-1922). Other great names of the late 19th and the 20th centuries are, Gangadhar Meher, Nandakishore Bala, Gopabandhu Das, Kuntala Kumari Sabata, Godabarisha Mishra, Baikuntha Nath Pattanayak, Mayadhar Mansingh, Radhamohan Garnayak, Sachidananda Routray, etc. in poetry, Godabarisha Mahapatra, Kalindi Charan Panigrahi, Kanhucharan Mohanty, Gopinath Mohanty, Surendra Mohanty, etc. in prose, and Ramshankar Ray, Baishnaba Pani, Kalicharan Pattanayak, Manoranjan Das, etc. in drama, etc. It should be noted that unlike the earlier eras of the Oriya Literature which was predominantly poetry, the modern era was marked by an all-round 'elaboration' of the language through both narrative and more importantly non-

narrative literature. The narrative literature is imagination-based like poetry and fiction. The non-narrative literature, on the other hand is information-based like original essays and articles, text books and other learned discussions. The three levels of education like primary, middle and higher produced matching prose of three calibers respectively, i.e. popular, refined and learned- an indispensable aspect of the language modernization and growth. Another language-related activity of this period is 'News-paper' or more specifically 'Informative Journalism'. All these manifestations of language elaboration have helped Oriya in its modernisation processes.

The elaboration of language is through two mediums – oral and written. The carriers of the oral medium are, radio, television, film and cassette. The carriers of the written medium are mainly 'literature' and news-paper.

[For detailed information on language status and elaboration, see-The Written Languages of the World: A survey of the Degree and Modes of use: India, Book 1, Constitutional Languages, 1989, Mahapatra, B.P.et al., Les Presses de I'Universite' Laval, Quebec, Canada, Oriya: PP. 357 – 395.]

1.9. The earliest grammatical description of the Oriya language is by Amos Sutton, titled 'Introductory Grammer of the Oriya Language', first published at the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, Calcutta, in the year 1831. As is usual with most other modern Indian languages, the first grammars of the Oriya language were written by the Christian Missionaries too and were published by them. Within a few years of their effort, a number of native scholars and pundits also started writing Oriya grammars, particularly when grammar teaching became a part of the school curriculum. The native scholarship till then, considering the elitist

tradition of the Indian grammatical studies, remained preoccupied with the classical languages only. Nevertheless, a large number of Oriya grammars came out starting from the middle of the 19th century, written by both the groups of native and foreign practitioners, and the pursuits are still on.

These studies generally fall into two types, based upon the models of description they generally follow. The two main models were that of the Latin grammar, which was followed by the Christian missionary scholars and the other by the native scholars, which was the Sanskrit grammar. But one would not be surprised at all to find many interpolations from Sanskrit tradition into the missionary grammars, firstly because of many advanced and fascinating features of the Sanskrit grammar, and secondly because many of the missionary writers had Sanskrit pundits as their guide and informant for the native language. Similarly, many of the Oriya grammars written by native scholars generally in Sanskrit model contain many insights from the Latin grammar, as the writers themselves were taught English grammars mainly, or found the Sanskrit grammar far too procrustean for their 'poor' native language.

A few Oriya grammars which were written in Latin models, besides Amos Sutton's are:

1. Maltby, J.J.A *Practical Handbook of Uriya or Ooriya Language*(1874), Reprint – 1986, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi.
2. Hallam, E.C.B. *Oriya Grammar for English Students*, 1874.
3. Anderson, A.*A Grammar of Oriya Language*, 1959, Denmark.

Some of the Oriya grammars written in Sanskrit model are:

1. Ray, Radhanath, 1899, *Byakarana Prabesha*
2. Das, Nilakantha, 1935, (1st Edition) *Oriya Byakarana* (1st & 2nd parts)
3. Mahapatra, Narayana & Sridhara Das, *Sarbasara Byakarana*, New Students Store
4. Sarangi, Nrusinha, 1989, *Bruhat Oria Byakarana*,
5. Madhyamik Siksha Parishad, Orissa, 1995 *Oria Byakarana.*
6. Mahapatra, Dhaneswar, 1998. *Adhunika Oria Byakarana.*

Although, Pundit Nilakantha Das's Oriya grammar is broadly written in Sanskrit tradition and is unfortunately incomplete, still is the best synchronic description of the language, in spite of some idiosyncrasies. The grammar is more of an application of the Sanskritic grammatical theory, than a blind imposition of the Sanskrit grammar on Oriya, as was the general practice. With regard to the 5th title in our list, which is a school text book for VIII, IX, and X classes, unlike most other pedagogical Oriya grammars, is surprisingly a departure from the past school grammars, prescribed so far. This grammar is not only authored by a team of writers which had some linguists in it, but also there are a number of new concepts and approaches, more akin to modern linguistic methods than either to Sanskrit or Latin grammars. As a pedagogical grammar it is far from perfect, but then no grammar is perfect. Yet, surely it spares the young students of Oriya grammar from memorizing a lot of material in the name of grammar, which is not amenable to analytical or empirical verification, or of no relevance to modern Oriya language.

A third group of Oriya grammatical studies are available mostly in English, beginning with the sixties which are in modern linguistic

terms. But, none of these studies is a complete grammar of the language. Beginning with G.B. Dhall's phonological study titled 'Aspiration in Oriya', and my still unpublished thesis titled 'Verb-piece in Oriya', submitted in 1961 at the University of London, a few other anecdotal studies, mainly in form of papers and articles have come up during last twenty years or so. Some of these studies are: Dass, G.N.'s Descriptive Morphology of Oriya, 1982, and a few other occasional papers by D.P. Pattanayak, B.P. Mahapatra, Panchanan Mohanty, B.N. Patnaik, Gopabandhu Mohanty and others. There are a few skeletal grammars, which appear in some applied works like-

1. Matson, D.M. & B.P. Mahapatra, 1968
   Oriya Graded Readers (5 Volumes), (mimeo)
2. Pattanayak, D.P. & G.N. Dass, 1972, *Conversational Oriya.*
3. Tripathy, K.B. 1962, *The Evolution of Oriya Language & Script*
4. Nayak, Ranjita, 2003, *Linguistic Survey of India: Orissa. Oriya.*
5. Bhattacharya, Krishna, 1993, *Bengali- Oriya Verb Morphology: A Contrastive Study.*
6. Mahapatra, Duryodhan 1984, *Hindi-Oriya Vyakaranki Kotiya, etc.*

It is also important to note that lately linguistic studies, including scholarly papers in Oriya linguistics have started coming out in Oriya. Late Golok Bihari Dhall, Debi Prasanna Pattanayak, Bijay Prasad Mahapatra, Khageswar Mahapatra, Gaganendranath Dass, Panchanan Mohanty and a number of younger linguists are the main contributors to this effort. Some major linguistic books in Oriya are:

G.B. Dhall – 1956, *Manisara Bhasha*

Pattanayak, D.P. _ 1990, *Oria Bhasha O Bhasha Bijnana*,

Mahapatra, B.P. – 1983, *Oriya Bhashatattvika Prabandha*. 1995, *Oriya Bhasha Bibhaba,etc.*

Dass G.N. 1983, *Oria Bhasha Charchara Parampara* etc.

However, linguistic studies in Oriya are not without a past. Pt. Gopinatha Nanda's pioneering Oriya work, *Oria Bhashatattva*, was published as early as 1927. Even his '*Oria Shabdatatva Abhidhana*', or an etymological dictionary of Oriya, was published a decade earlier in 1916. Pt. Binayak Mishra's *Oria Bhashara Itihasa* was published in 1927. Shortly after that appeared the seven volume Oriya dictionary *Purnachandra Bhashakosha*, by Gopal Chandra Praharaj between 1931-40. Following these pioneering works in Oriya, most notable publications are those of Pt.Nilakantha Das's *Oria Byakarana*, 1935 and his two volume study of *Oriya Sahityara Krama Parinama*, 1970. So is also Artaballabha Mohanty's *Prachina Gadya Padyadarsha*, containing specimens of Oriya language from early times.

This recapitulation of Oriya language studies would not be complete without mentioning two foreign scholars. John Victor Boulton of the School of Oriential and African Studies, University of London, U.K. and Dan Mitchell Matson, of the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A., who were both students of the Oriya Language and Literature in the early sixties and later taught Oriya in their respective universities. I was privileged to be associated with both of them from 1959 to 62 with Boulton and from 1963 to 66 with Matson, as their teacher and colleague. Both of them, as part of their training programme did intensive language work at home followed by nearly two years of field work in Orissa.

Both of them were also instrumental in opening the first foreign Oriya language departments in their universities. Both Boulton and Matson have contributed to Oriya studies substantially – the former more to the Oriya literature and the latter to the Oriya language teaching. Besides, both of them were excellent speakers of the Oriya language and very knowledgeable about the language. However, with a sense of great distress I note that both these foreign Oriya departments, and both these foreign Oriya scholars, with whose grooming I was personally involved for years from the very start and was very expectant of their contribution to the enrichment of the Oriya Language and Literature studies, stopped by the late sixties under difficult circumstances. Both the functioning departments closed and both the scholars became non-operative.

Only a token of their Oriya works remain, i.e. J.V. Boulton's unique thesis on Phakir Mohan Senapati, and D.M. Matson's five volumes of Graded Oriya Readers and a volume of Oriya Morpheme Frequency Study in joint authorship with me. This was a great loss to the Oriya studies, after a very promising beginning.

1.10 Oriya is a written language, the history of which goes back to the 11th century, preserved in a large number of stone inscriptions, copper plates and a range of hand-written palm-leaf collections of both prose and poetry varieties. As has been said earlier, the letters show four stages of development. The modern Oriya letters are composite characters of two parts-a decorative and a distinctive. Thus the letters fall into five types:

1. a top curve attached to the distinctive part.

2. a top curve with a tail attached to the distinctive part.
3. a top curve with a side bar attached to the distinctive part.
4. a bottom curve with a side bar attached to the distinctive part.
5. a few miscellaneous letters.

The writing system is syllabic and is written from left to right. Phonetically, the letters fall into five types –vowels, consonants, prosodies, conjuncts and secondary symbols or allographs.

The language has a phonological system of 38 segmental, 2 supra-segmental and 2 juncture phonemes. The segmentals are further divided into vowels and consonants. The vowels may be co-articulated with nasalization. The vowel length is treated as a 'marginal' sound.

The number of vowels are six and the rest are consonants of which four are marginal sounds. The number of conjunct consonants are not many and except a few, most of them occur in inter-syllabic position interrupted by a juncture. The vowels are articulated in two heights of the tongue- high and low and with three degrees of lip rounding- rounded, neutral and spread. The consonants are articulated at five points of the mouth: bilabial, dental, palatal, retroflex and velar. Besides these stops the rest of the consonants are four nasals, two laterals, one tapped, one flapped, two fricatives and two semi-vowels.

1.10.1 Grammatically, Oriya is a fairly analytical language without many morphological processes. The words belong to three major grammatical classes-nominals, verbals and indeclinables. The nominals have two major classes-nouns and adjectives. The nouns have a small subclass of words which are called pronouns. The nouns are generally inflected for number, gender and case and optionally take articles and numeral classifiers. The number is a

two-member class- singular and plural. In Oriya, there are no grammatical genders as such except perhaps animate and inanimate. The rest of the categories are lexical. The animates are partially divided into male and female and the inanimates divided into large and small. There are six cases-nominative, accusative, instrumental, genitive, ablative and locative. From the point of case markers nouns fall into two types-single stem and double stem. All the pronouns are two- stem, i.e. direct and oblique. The direct stem occurs in nominative case and the oblique stem before all other cases. All nouns other than the pronouns are single- stem morphemes.

The personal pronouns which are a sub-class of nouns are three in number- in singular –1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person. The plurals are derived from singular with the addition of plural markers. The 2nd person singular has three forms, which can be roughly translated into intimate / non-honorific, familiar and formal/ honorific. The 3rd person singular has two members-proximate and remote.

The adjectives are almost like indeclinables and rarely undergo any morphological modification barring for the gender in a limited number of borrowed words from Sanskrit. Otherwise, the adjectives in Oriya are mostly monomorphemic words and have no grammatical function in the sentence except as a semantic modifier. But as a modifier it has an interesting function when it occurs in a numeral phrase. The numeral phrase consists of a numeral and a classifier or a quantifier. In terms of the numeral classifier the nouns fall into two classes – count and mass. The count nouns are further sub-categorized as human and non-human. The non-human nouns fall into two classes – whole and piece. The mass nouns which cannot be counted by numerals directly, take a quantifier like 'container' or by the 'state of an object'. For example, a

noun like 'water' which is a mass noun cannot be counted by the classifier directly, but with the help of a quantifying container like 'one jug of water', 'two jugs of water', etc. There are at least 25 such quantifiers with which the nouns can be counted.

The other morphological class of words which have important function in the sentence is verb. The verbs fall into two major classes- finite and non-finite. The non-finite verbs do not have any concord with the subject and therefore do not take a person marker. The finite verbs are marked for mood, tense and person. There are 3 moods in Oriya-indicative / declarative, imperative and optative. The imperative is restricted to 2nd person only and the optative to 3rd person. The other mood can take 7 persons – 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular and 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural. The 1st plural is a 2-member person – inclusive and exclusive. The tense class consists of 4 tenses- present, past, furture and conditional.

The finite verbs fall into three structural types as they are formed upon three types of bases-simple, auxiliary type and subsidiary type. The structure of simple verbs is base-person, of the auxiliary type is base – aspect - auxiliary – person and that of the subsidiary types is base- completive/passive-subsidiary-person. The base is a two-member class – root and causative, the aspect is also a two-member class- perfect and continuous and so is the passive class-passive and completive. The auxiliary verbs which occur with the stem-forming vowels are three including a negative and the subsidiaries which occur with the stem-forming verbs vary from 7 to 8 and they generally modify the function of the base either grammatically or simply modify the base semantically. All the verbs can be negetivised by the addition of the negative auxiliary or the negative particle.

The second type of verb base is divided into two types- copular and non-copular. The copula verbs are six in number with six

non-copular verbs.

The third type of base is called a complex base, the structure of which is nominal + subsidiary. These verbs are idiomatic if the subsidiary is not an open class and productive if it is an open class.

Depending upon the verbs, the sentences can be called

1. Tense sentences,
2. Mood sentences and
3. Copula sentences.

The tense sentences take four types of tenses- present, past, future and conditional. The finite construction by definition is closed by a person marker. The person markers could be 7-term or 1-term and the latter can be called impersonal sentences. The mood sentences other than the indicative are restricted only to 2nd person when the mood is imperative and to 3rd if it is optative. The copula sentences take a copula verb which is a six-member class.

The verb bases may also be compound or complex in structure. The structure of these verbs are-

Simple base – { root
root- causative

Compound base- simple base-stem vowels-subsidiary

Complex base- nominal + subsidiary.

Given the structure, the sentences are simple sentences if there is only one finite verb in the sentence. If there are more than one finite verb and these are conjoined by coordinators like and, or, etc., they are compound sentences. The third type of sentences are complex sentences if the verbs are joined with if-then and other similar type of subordination.

1.11. There are about 200 languages spoken in India of which 50 have

a written tradition and the rest are largely unwritten. The 1991 census presents data only on 114 of these languages as the rest have a speaker strength below 10,000. The 114 languages fall into two classes – Scheduled Languages and Unscheduled Languages. The Scheduled Languages are so named because they are mentioned in the VIII schedule of the Constitution of India. Most of these scheduled languages are huge languages, spoken by a culturally advanced population and also enjoy the status of 'regional' or 'state' language. Oriya is one such language and is the official language of the Orissa state. These advantages however, do not make the scheduled languages any more secured than some of their less fortunate sisters in the complex linguistic situation of India as the 'global' languages like English increasingly eat into the domains of most of these languages. In spite of official recognitions, large speaker strength, advanced sociological and cultural attainments, thriving literary achievements of very high standard, etc., Oriya is no less endangered than many other so-called 'poor' languages of India in present socio-linguistic terms. Some even claim that by the end of this century almost two thirds of the Indian languages will be wiped out from the face of the earth forever, and Oriya language is very much in that 'endangered' list. Of course, it is quite naïve to believe that the language just within a span of some one hundred years will be totally silenced and some several million of speakers will stop speaking the language completely. What is feared however that the language will progressively lose its key societal functions. It will not be a situation when the language will be totally obliterated, but it will be a situation when the language will be 'dialectlized', and the speakers themselves will look down upon their mothertongue as a 'dialect' and not a 'language', because all the

socio-linguistically important functions of the language will be usurped by some other speech form. This is the situation we meet with the vast number of 'tribal' languages now, and fear that many of the so-called big 'regional' languages like Oriya may have to face the same fate after one hundred years or so. The primary fault is with the languages themselves as they remain engaged mostly in literary activities-narrative in nature though while completely neglecting more sustaining activities like demographic, sociological, linguistic and juridical. Many of these languages including Oriya still do not have a State institute of language planning and therefore are deprived of all language related activities by a professional group of linguists. The literary activities which are claimed to be 'language developing activities' are actually 'narrative' in nature which is 'imagination' based rather than 'information' as it should be. To top it all, most of these languages including Oriya do not have a high percentage of literacy and urbanization. All these aspects should be kept in view constantly to monitor and guide a language in its course of alround development by a professional body of language specialists. In spite of these lacunas Oriya is a very fine language with high degrees of achievements in arts, architecture, literature, culture, etc. befitting an ancient and advanced society and therefore its loss will be a loss for the whole of the human civilization. The Oriya culture, with all its manifestation represents a unique facet of advanced human civilization and thought and its preservation will be in the interest of that civilization and knowledge for the entire mankind.

CHAPTER- II

Orthography

2.1

Oriya language pronounced Oṛiā, belonging to the eastern group of the Indo-Aryan languages of the Indo-European family and spoken predominantly in the Orissa state of India is a written language with a literary tradition going back in history to some eight to one thousand years. The script is known as Oriya script or Oṛiā barnamāḷā or akhyaramāḷā.

The script is derived from the Brahmi script, perhaps from the variety used in the Ashokan inscriptions the specimens of which are found in the Dhauli and Jaugar inscriptions of the Emperor Ashoka (3rd century B.C.E) and the Khandagiri inscriptions of King Kharabela (1st century C.E.) both located in the Orissa state. However, unlike these ancient inscriptions the language of which was Prakrit, the earliest inscription in Oriya is the Urjam inscription of 1051 C.E. This inscription is in a variety of Brahmi from which apparently modern Oriya script has evolved. The Oriya script is a distinct system of writing, different from other collateral Brahmi based writing systems like Bengali-Assamese-Maithili and Devanagari, etc.

The Oriya script is syllabically based on the unit called akhyara in Oriya. The vowel a is inherent in each consonant symbol whether simple or conjunct, unless the letter is marked by the 'bottom stroke' called haḷant. Thus, କ-ka and ଗ-ga, marked with this stroke as କ୍, ଗ୍ are read as k and g respectively, signifying that the inherent vowel is mute.

The Oriya orthography is arranged in the same phonetic order as the letters of the Devanagari alphabet and the writing is done from left to right.

2.2

The orthography consists of five types of letters: vowels- swara, consonants – byanjana, syllable prosodies – ajogabāha, secondary symbols – mātrā o phaḷā and conjunct letters-juktākhyara. Excepting the last three kinds, the swara barna and the byanjana barna comprise the main body of the barnamāḷā or the inventory of letters.

2.2.1

The vowels or the swara barnas are 11 in number:

ଅ	ଆ	ଇ	ଈ	ଉ	ଊ	ଋ	ଏ	ଐ	ଓ	ଔ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au

From the point of Oriya pronunciation, although some of these letters are redundant, they are retained in the system following the old tradition of Indian writing. For example, ଈ and ଊ have no long-dirgha pronunciation in Oriya. Similarly, ଋ has no vocalic-swara articulation and ଐ and ଔ are not the only two diphthongs in the language. In fact, these two diphthongs like other diphthongs in the language are not true diphthongs and best be treated phonologically as vowel sequences with two distinct syllabic peaks. In spite of these anomalies, the 11 vowel system is generally retained in the Oriya spelling writing keeping with Sanskrit tradition, from which Oriya has originated.

2.2.2

The consonants or the byanjana barnas are 35 in number. These are divided into two major sections – bargya and abargya. The bargya barnas or the occlusive consonants are arranged in five 'columns' based on five places of articulation: velar-jihwā-muḷiya, palatal-tālabya, retroflex-murdhanya, dental-dantya and bilabial-oṣṭhya. Each column consists of 5 letters: voiceless stop-aghosa followed by its aspirated-mahāprāṇa counterpart and then the corresponding voiced stop-ghosabat followed by its aspirated counterpart. Each column ends with the corresponding nasal-nāsikya consonant. This gives a total of 25 consonants.

The abargya barnas or the non-occlusive consonants are 10 in number. It is a mixed bag of 3 semi-vowels, 2 laterals, 1 tapped, 3 sibilants and an aspirate.

In this lot also, there are a few redundant letters as the velar and the palatal nasals are rarely used in isolation in the language. Similarly also, the abargya or the antyastha ja and the palatal and retroflex sibilants.

The third category of abargya barnas or the syllable prosodies consists of three symbols: anuswâra, candrabindu and bisarga which are called ajogabāha. The anuswāra is mostly an alternative for homorganic nasals in a consonant cluster and a velar nasal elsewhere. The candrabindu stands for the vowel nasalization and the bisarga for voiceless h. The symbols for these three sounds are ° , ॅ and ଃ , respectively. Except ଃ, which is written lineally, other two are written as super-scripts, for example, ଅା-â, ଅାଁ- ā̃ , କା- kā କାଁ- kā̃ etc. for candrabindu and ଅଂଶ - aṁsa and କଂସା - kaṁsā for anuswāra. They occur in the alphabetical order of the dictionaries in between the vowels and the consonants.

The 35 consonants or the byanjana barnas are:

କ ଖ ଗ ଘ ଙ

ka kha ga gha ṅa (named wã)

ଚ ଛ ଜ ଝ ଞ

ca cha ja jha ña (named nyã)

ଟ ଠ ଡ ଢ ଣ

ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa

ତ ଥ ଦ ଧ ନ

ta tha da dha na

ପ ଫ ବ ଭ ମ

pa pha ba bha ma

ଯ ୟ ର ଳ ଲ ୱ ଶ ଷ ସ ହ

jya/ja ya ra ḷa la wa śa ṣa sa ha

The 3 syllable prosodies-ajogabâha are: ଂ - anuswâr, ଁ - candrabindu and ଃ- bisarga.

2.3

A contrastive look at the Oriya scripts will reveal that the scripts consists of two parts: a 'distinctive' part and an 'ornamental' part. Therefore, reading Oriya is an exercise along two dimensions –the dimension of ornamental features and the dimension of the distinctive features. For example, compare ଦ–da and ବ –ba-, or ତ -ta and ଡ - ḍa. Note that all the 4 letters share the same ornamental feature of a 'top curve'. The letters are distinguished by their distinctive features alone. Similarly, ଉ -u, ଭ-bha, ର-ra, ଲ-la, have a common ornamental feature of a 'top curve with a tail'. On the other hand, the difference between ଚ - ca and ର -ra or ଳ –ḷa and ଲ -la etc. is due to difference in ornamental parts only as the distinctive features between ଚ -ca and ର -ra or ଳ –ḷa and ଲ –la are same for both the pairs.

The Oriya script with regard to its distinctive features resembles related scripts of the eastern Indic variety. Visually, the basic symbols for vowels and consonants can be grouped into five types on the basis of their sharing similar features. These are:

(i) A top curve attached to the distinctive shape. The letters of this type are: କ -ka, ଙ - ṅa, ଚ-ca, ଛ - cha, ଜ -ja, ଡ -ḍa, ଢ -ḍha, ତ -ta, ଦ -da, ନ -na, ବ -ba, ଳ -ḷa, and ହ –ha.

(ii) A top curve with a tail attached to the distinctive shape: ଇ- i , ଈ- î , ଉ- u , ଊ- ū , ଋ- ṛ , ଭ- bha , ର- ra and ଲ- la .

(iii) A top curve with a side bar attached to the distinctive shape: ଖ -kha, ଗ -ga, ଘ -gha, ଣ-ṇa, ପ-pa, ଫ- pha, ମ-ma, ଯ-ja, ୟ-ya, ଶ-œa, ଷ-ṣa and ସ–sa.

(iv) A bottom curve with a side bar attached to the distinctive shape: ଅ- a , ଆ- ā , ଥ- tha , ଧ- dha ,

(v) A few miscellaneous letters: ଏ-e, ଐ-ai, ଓ-o, ଔ-au, ଝ-jha, ଟ-ṭa, ଠ-ṭha, ୱ-wa.

2.4

It has been said before that the vowel ଅ - a , is inherent in each consonant symbol whether simple or conjunct. All other vowels when following a consonant are written as obligatory diacritics. The diacritics for ā and î are on the right side of the consonant. The diacritic for i goes on top of the consonant. The diacritics for u, ū and ṛ go below the letter. The diacritic for e precedes the consonant. The diacritics for o, ai and au are discontinuous sorrounding the consonant. In some specific cases depending upon the type of letter vowel diacritics may be fused with the consonants. Although this ligature writing practice was very common in old type of printings and in hand writing, it is increasingly going out of use now. The following is a chart for all the vowel diacritics.

ଅ - a : କ - ka (inherent)

ଆ - ā: କା - kâ (with the ii type letters the diacritic is fused with the consonant.)

ଇ - i: କି - ki (with the i and ii type letters the diacritic is fused, and with the type iv letters the diacritic is attached to the bottom of a letter.)

ଈ - ī: କୀ - kī (with the type ii letters, the diacritic is fused.)

ଉ - u : କୁ - ku (with the type of letters i and ii, the diacritic is fused.)

ଊ - ū : କୂ - kū

ଋ - ṛ : କୃ - kṛ (with type i letters, the diacritic is fused.)

ଏ - e : କେ - ke

ଐ - ai: କୈ - kai

ଓ - o : କୋ - ko

ଔ - au: କୌ - kau

2.5

It has been said earlier that there are a few redundant letters in the orthography. Although these letters do not have distinct value in pronunciation, they are useful in retaining the spelling of the borrowed or the derived words from Sanskrit. These are:

ଈ - long(dirgha) ī, pronounced i.

ଊ - long(dirgha) ū, pronounced u

ଋ - vocalic (swara) ṛ, pronounced ru

ଙ - velar nasal (named wã). However, in homorganic clusters like ṅka, ṅkha, ṅga and ṅgha; before other consonants in

some clusters like ṅm, ṅsa, ṅra, ṅla, etc. and in word final position, it may be pronounced true to its phonetic value.

ଞ - palatal nasal (named nyã). Like the velar nasal it retains its palatal pronunciation in homorganic clusters like ñca, ñcha, ñja and ñjha)

ଯ - non-occlusive (antyastha) ja(named jya). Word initially it is pronounced ja and elsewhere it always occurs with y diacritic and is pronounced jya.

ଶ -palatal (tâlabya) ú, pronounced s.

ଷ -retroflex (murdhanya) ṣ , pronounced s.

2.6

All vowels and consonants other than the above letters have distinct phonetic value in the language.

Like the haḷant symbol which makes the inherent vowel silent in a syllable, another symbol which is frequently used in the present day Oriya writing is the urdhwa-kamâ or the apostrophe. It is used over a letter to signify the vowel length. For example, if ମାରି - beat is written with an apostrophe ମା'ରି - the â vowel should be read long and it would mean 'of the mother'. Other minimal pairs of the same type are: kaṇa- corner, ka'ṇa-what? târa-wire, tâ'ra-his, etc. However, the apostrophe may be avoided by writing a full vowel in some cases. For example, ମା'/ମାଆରି, କ'ଣ/କଅଣ, etc.

The other modifying symbol which is used in Oriya writing is a dot below ଡ– ḍa and ଢ -ḍha. The dot below these two letters signifies that the stops should be read as flaps, i.e., ṛ and ṛh respectively. These allographs of ḍ and ḍh occur intervocalically only. Sometime ago, a few other letters like ଚ - **ca** used to be written also with a dot below, but this practice is no longer in vogue except perhaps in old handwriting.

The following is a list of the Oriya letters with their phonetic values:

letter	pronunciation/phonetic value	example	meaning
ଅ	high neutral vowel- [ɔ]	ଅ-ଟା	flour
ଆ	low neutral vowel-[a]	ଆ-ସ	come
ଇ	high unrounded – [i]	ଇ-ଟା	brick
ଈ	high unrounded – [i]	ଈ-ଶ୍ୱର	God
ଉ	high rounded – [u]	ଉ-ଠ	get up
ଊ	high rounded – [u]	ଊ-ଷା	dawn
ଋ	tapped – [ru]	ଋ-ତୁ	season
ଏ	low unrounded – [e]	ଏ-କା	alone
ଐ	diphthong – [ɔi]	ଐ-ରାବତ	divine elephant
ଓ	low rounded – [o]	ଓ-ଠ	lip
ଔ	diphthong – [ɔu]	ଔ-ଷଧ	medicine
ଂ	velar nasal – [V̇n]	ବଂ-ଶ	dynasty
ଁ	nasalization – [Ṽ]	ବାଁ	left
ଃ	aspiration – [Vh]	ଦୁଃ-ଖ	sorrow
କ	voiceless velar stop – [k]	କ-ଳ	machine
ଖ	vl. velar aspirated stop – [kh]	ଖ-ତ	manure
ଗ	voiced velar stop –[g]	ଗ-ଜା	sprout
ଘ	vd. velar aspirated stop – [gh]	ଘ-ର	house
ଙ	velar nasal – [ṅ]	ସଂ-ସାର	world
ଚ	vl. palatal affricate – [c]	ଚ-ଷା	peasant
ଛ	vl.aspi.palatal affricate – [ch]	ଛ-ବି	picture
ଜ	vd. palatal affricate – [j]	ଜ-ର	fever
ଝ	vd. aspi. palatal affricate – [jh]	ଝ-ର	spring

ଞ	palatal nasal – [ñ]	କ-ଞା	raw
ଟ	vl.retroflex stop – [ṭ]	ଟ-ଗଛ	a flower
ଠ	vl.aspi.retroflex stop – [ṭh]	ଠ-କ	cheat
ଡ	vd. retroflex stop – [ḍ]	ଡ-ର	fear
ଡ଼	vd. retroflex flap – [ṛ]	ବ- ଡ଼	big
ଢ	vd. retroflex aspi. stop – [ḍh]	ଢ-ଗ	saying
ଢ଼	vd. retroflex aspi. flap – [ṛh]	କ-ଢ଼	bud
ଣ	retroflex nasal – [ṇ]	ବ-ଣ	forest
ତ	vl.dental stop – [t]	ତ-ଳ	floor
ଥ	vl. aspi.dental stop – [th]	ଥ-ୟ	stable
ଦ	vd. dental stop – [d]	ଦ-ୟା	mercy
ଧ	vd. aspi. dental stop – [dh]	ଧ-ଳା	white
ନ	dental nasal – [n]	ନ-ଖ	nail
ପ	vl.bilabial stop – [p]	ପ-ର	feather
ଫ	vl. aspi. bilabial stop – [ph]	ଫ-ଳ	fruit
ବ	vd. bilabial stop – [b]	ବ-ଳ	strength
ଭ	vd. aspi. bilabial stop – [bh]	ଭ-ଲ	good
ମ	bilabial nasal – [m]	ମ-ତ	opinion
ଯ	vd. palatal affricate – [j]	ଯ-ଶ	fame
ୟ	palatal semi-vowel – [y]	ଜ-ୟ	victory
ର	tapped sonorant – [r]	ର-ଜା	king
ଳ	flapped retroflex lateral – [ḷ]	କ-ଳ	machine
ଲ	alveolar lateral – [l]	ଲ-ତା	creeper
ୱ	labial semivowel – [w]	ୱା-ପସ୍	return
ଶ	dental vl.fricative – [s]	ଶ-ର	arrow

ଷ	dental vl.fricative – [s]	ବି-ଷ	poison
ସ	dental vl. fricative – [s]	ସ-ତ	truth
ହ	glottal fricative – [h]	ହ-ଳ	pair

All the letters except the letters ଙ, ଞ, ଣ, ୟ, ଡ଼, ଢ଼, ଳ occur in the word initial position.

2.7

With regard to writing the conjunct consonants – juktâkhyara, four different procedures are followed in Oriya. These are:

(i) independent letters, such as. ଦ୍ଧ – ddha, ତ୍ତ -tta, etc.

(ii) using separate consonantal allographs – phaḷās, such as କ୍ର -rka, କ୍ର -kra, etc.

(iii) writing the second member of the conjunct below the first, such as : ସ୍ପ - spa, ଣ୍ଠ - ṇṭha, etc.

(iv) using the haḷant or 'vowel mute' symbol below the first member of the conjunct consonant,

such as : ଳ୍ଭ - ḷbha, ଡ୍ଗ -ḍga, etc.

It may also be noted here that most of the consonant clusters are borrowed from Sanskrit into Oriya in their original spelling. The following Sanskrit clusters are pronounced differently in Oriya:

spelling	pronunciation	example
ତ୍ସ - tsa	scha	ଉତ୍ସବ -uschaba -festival
କ୍ଷ -kṣa	khya	ବକ୍ଷ -bakhya – chest
ଦ୍ମ -dma	dwã	ପଦ୍ମ -padwã - lotus
ଣ୍ୱ -ṇwa	nwã	କଣ୍ୱ -kanwã – a name

ର୍ଣ୍ଣ -rṇa/rṇṇa	rna	ବର୍ଣ୍ଣ-barna – colour
ଷ୍ଣ -ṣṇa/ṣṇṇa	sna	କୃଷ୍ଣ -krusna- a name
ଷ୍ପ -ṣpa	spa	ପୁଷ୍ପ -puspa – flower
ର୍ଷ -rṣa	rsa	ବର୍ଷ -barsa – year
ଜ୍ଞ -jña	gyã	ଅଜ୍ଞ -agyã- ignorant

The letter ଜ୍ଞ is pronounced gya when it occurs before a nasal, as in ଜ୍ଞାନ - gyâna, ବିଜ୍ଞାନୀ - bigyâni etc., elsewhere it is gyã. The letter ଖ is pronounced kha before the vowel i, as in ଖୀର - khira, ପଖୀ - pakhi, etc., elsewhere it is khya. Another exception to be noted is the use of 'reph' or the allograph r – when it is the first member of a cluster. After r – some consonants are doubled in the spelling, as in: ସର୍ତ୍ତ - sartta, ଧର୍ମ୍ମ -dharmma, ବର୍ଣ୍ଣ -barṇṇa, etc. But in Oriya pronunciation the doubling is not done and these should be read as single consonants, i.e. rta, rma, rna, respectively.

All other conjunct letters are pronounced true to their spelling.

2.8.

The following is a list of all the four types of conjunct letters in Oriya.

(i) independent letters

ବ୍ଦ - (ବ୍ଦ) -	bda
ବ୍ଧ - (ବ୍ଧ) -	bdha
ଦ୍ଭ - (ଦ୍ଭ) -	dbha
ତ୍ତ - (ତ୍ତ) -	tta
ଦ୍ଦ - (ଦ୍ଦ)-	dda
ଦ୍ଧ - (ଦ୍ଧ)-	ddha
ଟ୍ଟ - (ଟ୍ଟ)-	ṭṭa
ଚ୍ଚ - (ଚ୍ଚ)-	cca

ଚ୍ଛ - (ଚ୍ ଛ) - ccha
ମ୍ପ - (ମ୍ ପ) - mpa
ମ୍ଫ - (ମ୍ ଫ) - mpha
ନ୍ଦ - (ନ୍ ଦ) - nda
ନ୍ଧ - (ନ୍ ଧ) - ndha
ଞ୍ଚ - (ଞ୍ ଚ) - ñca
ଞ୍ଛ - (ଞ୍ ଛ) - ñcha
ଞ୍ଜ - (ଞ୍ ଜ) - ñja
ଞ୍ଝ - (ଞ୍ ଝ) - ñjha
ଙ୍କ - (ଙ୍ କ) - ṅka
ଙ୍ଖ - (ଙ୍ ଖ) - ṅkha
ଙ୍ଗ - (ଙ୍ ଗ) - ṅga
ଙ୍ଘ - (ଙ୍ ଘ) - ṅgha
ଧ୍ୟ - (ଧ୍ ୟ) - dhya

It may be noted that these idiosyncratic conjunct letters are increasingly avoided in modern printings and are now written adopting alternative means. For example, the homorganic nasal conjuncts like ଙ୍କ, ଙ୍ଖ, ଞ୍ଚ, ଞ୍ଛ etc. are written replacing the nasal with anuswâra and similarly the geminated conjuncts like ଉ୍ତ, ଚ୍ଚ etc. are also broken down to single letters, using a halant below the first member of the cluster. Thus ଅଙ୍କ , ବନ୍ଧ etc. are written as ଅଂକ, ବଂଧ etc. and ବିତ୍ତ, ଉଚ୍ଚ as ବିତ୍ତ, ଉଚ୍ଚ etc.

(ii) special allographs. In this type of conjuncts a few consonants have special allographs which are used in writing them:

1. ତ୍ as the first member of a conjunct: ପ୍-(ତ୍ପ) -tpa, କ୍-(ତ୍କ) -tka, ମ୍-(ତ୍ମ) -tma, (alternatively ତ୍ମ) , ନ୍-(ତ୍ନ)- tna, (alternatively ତ୍ନ), ସ୍-(ତ୍ସ)-tsa, (pronounced ସ୍ଚ-scha). The same symbol when occurs below ଣ , is to be read as ḍha, i.e.,

ଣ୍ଢ -ṇḍha

2. ତ as the second member of a conjunct:

ପ୍ତ-(ପ୍ତ)-pta, କ୍ତ-(କ୍ତ)-kta, ନ୍ତ-(ନ୍ତ)-nta, ସ୍ତ-(ସ୍ତ)-sta. The same symbol when occurs below ଣ , is to be read as ḍa-, i.e., ଣ୍ଡ -ṇḍa.

3. ଥ as the second member of a conjunct:

ନ୍ଥ-(ନ୍ଥ) -ntha, ସ୍ଥ-(ସ୍ଥ) -stha

4. ନ୍ as the second member of a conjunct: ପ୍ନ-(ପ୍ନ) -pna, ତ୍ନ-(ତ୍ନ) -tna, (alternatively ନ୍ନ), ତ୍ସ୍ନ -tsna- (pronounced ଚ୍ଛ୍ନ -chna), ଗ୍ନ-(ଗ୍ନ)-gna, ଘ୍ନ-(ଘ୍ନ) - ghna, ମ୍ନ-(ମ୍ନ) -mna, ନ୍ନ-(ନ୍ନ) -nna, ସ୍ନ-(ସ୍ନ) -sna, ଶ୍ନ-(ଶ୍ନ) -sna, ହ୍ନ-(ହ୍ନ) -hna.

5. ମ୍ as the second member of a conjunct: ତ୍ମ-tma (alternatively ମ୍ମ), କ୍ମ-(କ୍ମ)-kma, ଦ୍ମ-(ଦ୍ମ)-dma, ଜ୍ମ-(ଜ୍ମ)-jma, କ୍ଷ୍ମ -ksma- (pronounced ଖ୍ମ-khma), ଗ୍ମ-(ଗ୍ମ) -gma, ନ୍ମ-(ନ୍ମ) -nma, ଣ୍ମ-(ଣ୍ମ) -ṇma, ସ୍ମ-(ସ୍ମ) -sma, ଷ୍ମ-(ଷ୍ମ) -sma.

6. ର as the second member of a conjunct:

ପ୍ର-(ପ୍ର) -pra

ଫ୍ର-(ଫ୍ର) -phra

ବ୍ର-(ବ୍ର) -bra

ଭ୍ର-(ଭ୍ର) -bhra

ତ୍ର-(ତ୍ର) -tra (alternatively ୶)

[Note: This alternative is also used in the following three – consonant conjuncts: ନ୍ତ୍ର-(ନ୍ତ୍ର) -ntra and ସ୍ତ୍ର-(ସ୍ତ୍ର)-stra...

ଦ୍ର-(ଦ୍ର) - dra

ଧ୍ର-(ଧ୍ର) - dhra

ଟ୍ର-(ଟ୍ର) - ṭra

ଡ୍ର-(ଡ୍ର) - ḍra

ଜ୍ର-(ଜ୍ର) - jra
କ୍ର-(କ୍ର) – kra
ଖ୍ର-(ଖ୍ର) - khra
ଗ୍ର-(ଗ୍ର) - gra
ଘ୍ର-(ଘ୍ର) - ghra
ମ୍ର-(ମ୍ର) - mra
ନ୍ର-(ନ୍ର) - nra
ସ୍ର-(ସ୍ର) - sra
ଶ୍ର-(ଶ୍ର) - sra
ହ୍ର-(ହ୍ର) - hra

A second type of occurrence of r in conjunct consonants comes from combining the vocalic ଋ, pronounced ru. The secondary symbol for this letter is ୃ, which goes below the consonant it follows:

Ex. କୃ –kṛ, ନୃ -nṛ, ଶୃ -sṛ, etc. In pronunciation although this symbol has the same value as –ru, i.e., କ୍ରୁ -kru, ନ୍ରୁ -nru, ଶ୍ରୁ -sru, etc. the two symbols are not interchangeable in the spelling.

7. ର as the first member of a conjunct and is called reph

ର୍ଭ-(ର୍ଭ) -rbha
ର୍ତ-(ର୍ତ) - rta
ର୍ଥ-(ର୍ଥ) - rtha
ର୍ଦ-(ର୍ଦ) - rda
ର୍ଧ-(ର୍ଧ) - rdha
ର୍ଚ-(ର୍ଚ) – rca
ର୍ଛ-(ର୍ଛ) -rcha
ର୍ଜ-(ର୍ଜ) –rja
ର୍କ-(ର୍କ) - rka

ର୍ଖ-(ର୍ଖ) - rkha

ର୍ଗ-(ର୍ଗ) - rga

ର୍ଘ-(ର୍ଘ) - rgha

ର୍ମ-(ର୍ମ) - rma

ର୍ଣ-(ର୍ଣ) -rṇa

ର୍ସ/ର୍ଶ/ର୍ଷ - rsa/rœa/rṣa (all pronounced –rsa)

ର୍ହ-(ର୍ହ) - rha

As per the spelling convention, when these second consonants precede the r, some of them are doubled, i.e., ର୍ତ୍ତ -rtta, ର୍ମ୍ମ -rmma, etc. But in pronunciation this does not happen and therefore many people no longer write the double consonant before reph.

8. ୢ as the second member of a conjunct:

ପ୍ଲ-(ପ୍ଳ) – pl̥a, କ୍ଲ-(କ୍ଳ) –kl̥a, ଗ୍ଲ-(ଗ୍ଳ) –gl̥a, ମ୍ଲ-(ମ୍ଳ) – ml̥a, ସ୍ଲ-(ସ୍ଳ) –sl̥a, ଶ୍ଲ-(ଶ୍ଳ)ēl̥a.

9. ୣ as the second member of a conjunct:

ପ୍ଲ-(ପ୍ଲ) -pla, ବ୍ଲ-(ବ୍ଲ) - bla, କ୍ଲ-(କ୍ଲ) -kla, ଗ୍ଲ-(ଗ୍ଲ) -gla, ଲ୍ଲ-(ଲ୍ଲ) -lla, ସ୍ଲ-(ସ୍ଲ) -sla, ହ୍ଲ-(ହ୍ଲ) -hla.

10. ଣ୍ as the second member of a conjunct:

ଣ୍ଣ-(ଣ୍ଣ) - ṇṇa (pronounced na), ଷ୍ଣ-(ଷ୍ଣ)-ṣṇa(pronounced sna). In other conjuncts like ଷ୍ଟ, ଗ୍ଣ etc, however, the ଣ୍ letter is fully used and pronounced.

11 . ୱ as the second member of a conjunct:

ନ୍ୱ-(ନ୍ଓ) - (pronounced nwa), ଜ୍ୱ-(ଜ୍ୱ)-jwa, ତ୍ୱ-(ତ୍ୱ)-twa, ଦ୍ୱ-(ଦ୍ୱ)-dwa, ଧ୍ୱ-(ଧ୍ୱ)-dhwa, କ୍ୱ-(କ୍ୱ)-kwa, ନ୍ୱ-(ନ୍ୱ)-nwa, ସ୍ୱ-(ସ୍ୱ)-swa, ହ୍ୱ-(ହ୍ୱ)-hwa. The same symbol when used under ମ, it is to be pronounced as ba, i.e., ମ୍ବ-mba. A different allograph is used for its aspirated counterpart, i.e., ମ୍ଭ - mbha.

12. ୟ as the second member of a conjunct:

ପ୍ୟ-(ପ୍ୟ)-pya, ବ୍ୟ-(ବ୍ୟ)-bya, ଭ୍ୟ-(ଭ୍ୟ)-bhya, ତ୍ୟ-(ତ୍ୟ)-tya, ଜ୍ୟ-(ଜ୍ୟ)-jya, କ୍ୟ-(କ୍ୟ)-kya, ଖ୍ୟ/କ୍ଷ୍ୟ-(ଖ୍ୟ/କ୍ଷ୍ୟ/କ୍ଷ୍ୟ)-khya, ଗ୍ୟ-(ଗ୍ୟ)-gya, ଘ୍ୟ-(ଘ୍ୟ)-ghya, ଚ୍ୟ-(ଚ୍ୟ)-cya, ମ୍ୟ-(ମ୍ୟ)-mya, ନ୍ୟ-(ନ୍ୟ)-nya, ଣ୍ୟ-(ଣ୍ୟ) - (pronounced nya), ଲ୍ୟ-(ଲ୍ୟ)-lya, ସ୍ୟ/ଶ୍ୟ/ଷ୍ୟ (all pronounced sya), ହ୍ୟ-(ହ୍ୟ)-hya.

Of the four types of conjunct letters mentioned above, the last two are written by juxtaposing the consonants. This juxtaposing is done in two ways:

(iii) by writing the second member of the conjunct below the first, and

(iv) by writing them linealy one after the other. In the former type, the two members of the conjunct are written one above the other, the first member of the cluster on top and the second below it. The bottom letter usually is a size smaller than the upper member: ଣ୍ଠ-(ଣ୍ଠ)-ṇṭha, ଷ୍ଟ-(ଷ୍ଟ)-ṣṭa, ସ୍ପ-(ସ୍ପ)-spa, ଜ୍ଜ-(ଜ୍ଜ)-jja, etc.

In the other type, the second consonant follows the first. The vowel of the first consonant is made silent by the use of haḷant, so that the inherent vowel of the former letter does not interfere with the juxtaposed consonants: କ୍ଭ-kḷbha, ଡ୍ଗ - ḍga, କ୍ଟ -kṭa, ଗ୍ଣ -gṇa, ନ୍ସ -nsa, etc.

Of all the four types, the last type of writing conjunct letters is presently the most favoured as this is machine-friendly, transparent and highly adoptable in writing all sorts of consonant clusters including the ones either foreign or new to Oriya. However, this alternative type also fails in spite of its versatility, when the conjunct letter has to occur word initially, because there is no precedence of writing a consonant with

haḷant, word-initially in Oriya. So, all words beginning with a consonant cluster like ର୍ - ŕa, ତ୍ୟ -tya, ଗ୍ଳ–gḷa, ଷ୍ଟ -ṣṭa, etc. will face difficulty in introducing a haḷant marked consonant word initially. Not that, it is impossible for Tamil does it so well, yet in case of Oriya, it would be quite preposterous.

2.9

The punctuation marks in Oriya except the fullstop – purnacheda which is shown by a single bar – । at the end of a sentence, all other marks are same as English, such as : , - kamâ, ; - ardha kamâ, : - kolan, ? – prasnabâcaka, ! – âscarjyabâcaka, " " – udhruta cinha, - - abagraha/ ḍyâs, / - tirjaka cinha, : - jathâ, ( ) – candra bandhani, { } – kuṭiḷa bandhani, [ ] – bargya bandhani, ∴ –ataeb, etc.

2.10

Finally, it may be said for the present that this is the second time in its history that the Oriya script is in a juncture. After the printing press was introduced to Orissa in the thirties of the 19th century and the sea change it brought in its wake for the Oriya writing, this is the second time the writing system is getting ready for another spell of radical change. The mechanical type writer with its limited key-board did bring some change, but it is nothing like what the computers are doing in the present era. Computer printing has already appropriated the major share of modern day printing for itself, particularly those that of mass media. Most others are not far behind. There are already committed rival groups who stand for radical changes in the writing system and others who are not so radical. Those who are for radical changes in the spelling-their potential weapons are universalising the use of anuswâra and haḷant, which will totally eliminate the idiosyncratic conjunct letters. The daily Sambada of the Eastern Media group is at the fore front of this movement. Others may not be that radical, but sooner or later they

will also fall in line, because they are also committed to electronic printing as opposed to mechanical. In spite of this internal fighting their common adversary the mechanical printing is not completely thrown out of the circulation. They are still in business and still controlling a large chunk of the total printing. But one can only guess that they already realize that the day no longer belongs to them. Whatever the case may be, at present both forms of writing old and new are in vogue. Therefore, in order to read Oriya, one has to be familiar with both the forms of writing: electronic and mechanical.

A small note about the hand writing. A good hand writing in Oriya means that each letter is written in full and distinctly, i.e. like 'macha manji' or the 'fish eggs'. So, a good hand writing does not differ much from the printed characters. But there is a tendency to use more ligatures in hand writing as it saves time and space. So, unless some material is written badly or in a specialized form of writing like karani or the 'court-script'. etc., hand writing does not pose any special problem either in writing or reading.

2.11.

The Oriya numerals both cardinals and ordinals are given below upto 20. The rest are given only in figures

cardinal	name	ordinal	short form	meaning
୧	eka/ek	prathama	୧ମ	1- first
୨	dui	dwitiya	୨ୟ	2- second
୩	tini/tin	trutiya	୩ୟ	3- third
୪	cari/car	caturtha	୪ର୍ଥ	4- fourth
୫	panca/panc	pancama	୫ମ	5- fifth
୬	cha	sastha	୬ଷ୍ଠ	6- sixth

୭	sata/sat	saptama	୭ମ	7- seventh
୮	atha/ath	astama	୮ମ	8- eighth
୯	na	nabama	୯ମ	9- nineth
୧୦	dasa/das	dasama	୧୦ମ	10-tenth
୧୧	egara	ekadasa	୧୧ଶ	11- eleventh
୧୨	bara	dwadasa	୧୨ଶ	12- twelvth
୧୩	tera	trayodasa	୧୩ଶ	13- thirteenth
୧୪	cauda	caturdasa	୧୪ଶ	14- fourteenth
୧୫	pandara	pancadasa	୧୫ଶ	15-fifteenth
୧୬	sohala/sola	sorasa	୧୬ଶ	16-sixteenth
୧୭	satara	saptadasa	୧୭ଶ	17-seventeenth
୧୮	athara	astadasa	୧୮ଶ	18-eighteenth
୧୯	unis	unabinsa	୧୯ଶ	19-niniteenth
୨୦	korie	binsa	୨୦ଶ	20- twentieth
0	sun	sunya		0- zero
୩୦	tiris	trayodasa		30
୪୦	callis	caturdasa		40
୫୦	pacas	pancadasa		50
୬୦	sathie	sasthadasa		60
୭୦	saturi	saptadasa		70
୮୦	asi	astadasa		80
୯୦	nabe	nabati		90
୧୦୦	sahe	eka sata		100
୧୦୦୦	hajare	sahasra		1000
୧୦୦୦୦୦	lakhye	lakhya		100000
୧୦୦୦୦୦୦୦	kotie	koti		10000000

(Note- The final –e of the last four numerals stands for one. When it is more than one, the –e is dropped as in : dui saha- 200, tini hajâr –3000, etc.)

2.11.1

The figures for the fractional numbers like half, quarter, etc. are written by placing the fraction below the number:

୧/୪	cauṭha	eka-caturthâṅsa	¼
୧/୨	adha	ardhāṅsa	½

Also note that when half is used to indicate 'time', the word used is sāḍhe, i.e. sāḍhe tinṭā – half past three, sāḍhe dasa barsa –ten and half years. But when adha or sāḍhe occur with the numbers 1 or 2, special words are used, i.e., ୧୧/୨ -deḍha-, 1½, and ୨୧/୨ - aḍhāi - 2½.

Other fractions are written in the following manner:

୧/୧୦୦ -sahe bhâgaru bhâge –eka satāṅsa – 1/100, etc.

CHAPTER- III

Phonology

3.1

The phonemic inventory consists of 38 segmental, 2 supra-segmental and 2 juncture phonemes. The segmentals are further divided into vowels and consonants. The vowels may be coarticulated with or without nasalization. The vowel-length is not treated as phonemic although a few words do show vowels which are phonetically long, and contrast with their short counterparts.

3.1.1

Vowels

	front	back
	unrounded	rounded
close	i	u
close-mid	e	o
open-mid		ɔ
open	a	

The phonetic description of the vowels are:

i– close front unrounded vowel

u – close back rounded vowel

e – close-mid front unrounded vowel

o – close-mid back rounded vowel

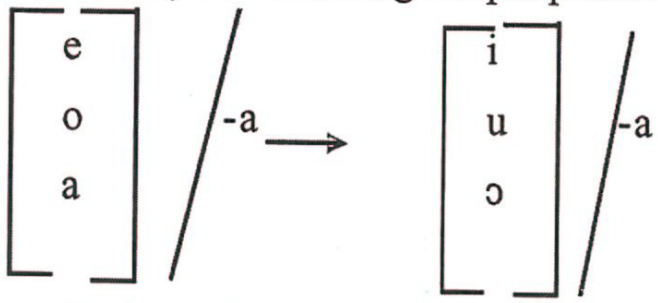
ɔ- open-mid back rounded vowel

a – open back vowel

However, inter-relationship between the vowels shows that six vowel inventory belongs to a 'three by two' system of which three vowels are high and the other three are low corresponding to relative heights of the tongue or the two degrees of approximation between the tongue and the roof of the mouth. They are further modified by three positions of the lips, i.e., rounded, neutral and unrounded. Thus, the vowel system may be phonologically rearranged as:

	unrounded	neutral	rounded
high	i	ɔ	u
low	e	a	o

The evidence for the above systemic arrangement of the vowels is provided by the following morphophonemic alternation rules:



Ex. de-a → dia -giving

dho-a → dhua -washing

aṇ-a → ɔṇa -fetching, etc.

Thus, the vowel system identifies:

i. three positions of lips: spreading, neutral and rounded

ii. two vertical points of the tongue: high and low

3.1.2

Consonants:

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar
stops						
unaspirated						
voiceless	p	t		ṭ		k
voiced	b	d		ḍ		g
aspirated						
voiceless	ph	th		ṭh		kh
voiced	bh	dh		ḍh		gh
affricates						
unaspirated						
voiceless					c	
voiced					j	
aspirated						
voiceless					ch	
voiced					jh	
nasals	m	n		ṇ		(ṅ)
laterals			l	ḷ		
tapped			r			
flapped				(ṛ)		glottal
fricatives		s				h
semivowels	(w)				(y)	

3.1.3

supra-segmental:

nasalization – $\tilde{V}$

length - (V:)

3.1.4

junctures:

terminal - #

non-terminal- +, -

The intonational contours have not been worked out

3.2

There are 5 marginal phonemes in Oriya which are shown in the inventory in brackets. These are 4 segmental, ṅ, ṛ, w, y and the vowel quantity. These are separately dealt under marginal phonemes in the section 3.6

3.3

There are altogether 28 consonant phonemes which may be sub-classified under the following headings: stops, nasals, laterals, tapped, flapped, fricatives and semi-vowels.

(i) Stops - The stops are consonant segments produced by complete closure, accompanied simultaneously by a velic closure. All the stop consonants are paired. For the paired stops the opposition between voiced and voiceless and aspirated and unaspirated is significant. These sounds are: p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, c, ch, j, jh, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh and k, kh, g, gh.

The paired stops again are of two types, stops and affricates. The reason for treating affricates as unit phonemes are mainly phonological, i.e., for their distributional patterning in the language:

1. The affricates have similar distribution as the stops, i.e., occurring initially, medially and finally.
2. The pairing of the stops voiced/voiceless and aspirated/ unaspirated is also applicable to the affricates.
3. In the clustering behaviour of the consonants, the affricates are distributed like the stops.

   The paired stops are made at five contact points: lips, upper teeth, post-alveolar, palate and velum.

(ii) Nasals – The nasals are consonant segments produced by complete closure without simultaneous velic closure. Only three points of contact for the nasals, i.e., lips, upper teeth and palate are relevant. Voicing of the nasals is redundant as there is no contrast between voiced and voiceless nasals. The palatal nasal occurs only before homorganic stops and the velar nasal also has a limited distribution and is treated as a marginal phoneme. The retroflex nasal except before a consonant is a flap. Thus, there are four nasal phonemes: m, n, ɳ and (ṅ).

(iii)Laterals - The laterals are consonant segments produced by a stricture of complete closure with lateral passage for the air-stream round the sides of the obstruction. There are two consonants in this class produced at the teeth ridge and palate. The retroflex lateral mostly is a flapped consonant. Voicing of the lateral is redundant as there is no opposition between voiced and voiceless laterals. The sounds are l and ɭ.

(iv)Tapped- The tapped r is a consonant segment resulting from a stricture of intermittent closure. There is only one consonant of this class produced at the teeth ridge.

(v) Flapped- The flap is a consonant segment produced by an active articulator striking against a passive one. Although, there are

three flap consonants in the language, the retroflex nasal and the retroflex lateral flaps are treated in their respective sections and only the voiced retroflex flap ɾ, appears in the chart as a marginal phoneme as it is partially in complementary distribution with the voiced retroflex stop ɖ.

(vi)Fricatives- The fricatives are consonant segments produced by close approximation of the articulators with central passage of the air-stream. These are produced at two places, the upper teeth and the glottis. The sounds are transcribed as a s and h.

(vii)Semivowels- The semi-vowels are consonant segments made with central passage of the air-stream and open approximation of the articulators. The sounds are produced with characteristic jaw movement unlike the vowels. The sounds are produced at two places, the lips and the palate. Both the sounds are shown in the inventory as marginal phonemes due to their restricted distribution. The sounds are w and y.

3.3.1

The co-articulated suprasegmentals which are included in the Oriya phonemic inventory are vowel nasalization and vowel length. Vowel nasalization is fully phonemic in Oriya but the vowel length is a border line case and therefore is treated as a marginal phoneme.

(i) Nasalization – When vowels are pronounced with simultaneous lowering of the soft palate, so that the air passes through the nose as well as through the mouth, the vowels are said to be nasalized. In Oriya, all the vowels can be nasalized except perhaps the o. One of the important things to be noted about the nasalization in Oriya is that, the oral and the nasal vowels contrast after a nasal consonant. For example, na-boat, nã-name; nɔ- nine, nɔ̃-you bend, nɔi- river, nɔ̃i-having bent,

mãũsia – fleshy, mausi- aunt, etc. The nasal and the oral vowels also contrast without the presence of a nasal consonant, i.e. a-come, ã-open mouth; e-this, ẽ -what?; ba-or, bã- left; dhua-washing, dhũã - smoke; keũ - which, keuṭɔ – fisherman, etc. It may also be noted that before a stop consonant the contrast between the nasalized vowels and a nasal consonant is neutralized so that the words, may be pronounced indiscriminately either as: ɔĩṭha ~ ɔiṇṭha- - food already eaten by some one, khaũdɔ ~ khaundɔ -master, sã:tɔ ~sa:ntɔ - master, etc.

(ii) Length- The length or the quantity of a vowel is the length of time during which it is held on continuously in a given word. In Oriya, the length of a vowel is not significant. But, in the present standard spoken variety there are quite a few words in which the vowels are perceptively long. Even, there are some minimal pairs where the short and long vowels contrast. For example, kɔṇɔ - corner, kɔ:ṇɔ -what, barɔ -day, ba:rɔ –twelve; pila-child, pi:la-he drank; phere- return, phe:re-again; moṭa-fat. mo:ṭa – my one; toṭa-orchard, to:ṭa-your one, etc. There are also several other words where long vowels occur. i.e. tu:ni-silient, su:ki – four anna coin, pu:ṇi-again, ja:- co-sister, da:- sickle, etc. Although in isolation, some of these words contrast, the vowel quantity in general is not stable and in normal speech the vowels are either shortened or lengthened depending upon the rhythm of the syllable, word or sentence. Secondly, most of the long vowels result due to coming together of identical vowels in morphemic boundaries. So more often than not, the long vowels are interrupted by the non-terminal juncture. Thirdly, in some mono-syllabic words like, ba:-wind, na:-boat , ja:-co-sister, etc., where a long vowel occurs in final position there is a perceptible syllabic break in the vowel quantity and the long vowel shows two peaks.

Therefore, it is more gainful to treat the long vowels and the diphthongs as sequences of two vowels rather than a single segment. Further, the V(C) and CV(C) verb roots like as- to come, suṇ- to hear, gɔṇ-to count, etc. the vowel is predictably long in the 2nd imperative, when the bare root occurs in isolation. But this is predictable from the syllabic structure of the word and therefore redundant. There is yet another environment where the vowel length is unstable. In some words like, mo:rɔ- mine, to:rɔ-your, ta:rɔ-his, etc., the length is due to the loss of an intervening h in the spoken variety. When this h is deliberately pronounced the vowel length becomes insignificant, i.e. mohɔrɔ, taharɔ, etc.

3.3.2.

Oriya utterances consist of two types of junctures which are called terminal and non-terminal. The terminal juncture # appears automatically at the sentence boundary. This juncture is phonetically realized as 'pause' and is coterminus with terminal contours.

The non-terminal juncture, transcribed + or – may be called the word or formative boundary. The following reasons are advanced in favour of positing this phoneme, which is phonetically unrealized,

1. The non-terminal juncture contrasts with its absence.

   For example, ca + kɔrɔ-make tea

   cakɔrɔ - servent.

2. Two retroflex stop syllables do not occur consecutively in a word but they may occur when intervened by a formative boundary. Ex. moṭa-ṭa - the thick one, piṭhi-ṭhu- from the back,etc. Similarly, two aspirated stop syllables do not occur consecutively in a word, but this restriction does not apply when intervened by a close juncture.

Ex. bibha + ghɔrɔ -wedding

bagho +ghɔrɔ - den of the tiger, etc.

3. An r- syllable does not follow a syllable of ṛ or ḷ in a word unless intervened by a formative boundary.

Ex. jhɔṛɔ-rɔ gɔti - the course of storm

baḷɔ-rɔ rɔṅgɔ -the colour of hair

4. A r-syllable does not occur after another r-syllable, unless intervened by a formative boundary.

Ex. ghɔrɔ-rɔ – of the house

corɔ -rɔ - of the thief, etc

5. The retroflex stops ḍ and ḍh, when occur intervocalically are changed to ṛ and ṛh respectively unless intervened by a non-terminal juncture.

Ex. be-ḍhɔṅgɔ -awkward

ɔ-ḍhil -stomach-full

ni-ḍɔrɔ -fearless, etc.

3.3.3.

There are five marginal phonemes in the Oriya phonemic inventory. These are: vowel length, velar nasal, voiced retroflex flap and the two semi- vowels- bilabial and palatal. These phonemes are shown in the inventory within brackets. These are given marginal status because not only they have very low frequency in the language, but their occurrence is also partly predictable. Yet, they have limited contrasts including in a few minimal pairs.

1. Vowel length – All the vowels have longer occurrenceses and contrast with their shorter counterparts. But these contrasts may not be genuine as the long vowels are interrupted by formative boundaries or show syllabic break in their articulation.

For example:

nɔrɔ-human being, nɔ:rɔ-palace; tarɔ-wire, ta:rɔ-his; pila-child, pi:la-he drank; phere-I return, phe:re-again; moṭa-fat, mo:ṭa-my one; etc. The vowels may be predictably long in (C)VC words as in kɔ:ṇ-what?, su:ṇ-listen, ba:r- twelve, de:kh-see, etc. But, in these words the vowel length is not stable as they lose their duration when pronounced with a final vowel. There are also some examples of long vowels occurring in final position, such as : ba:-wind, na:-boat, pi:-drink, ne: - take, so:-sleep, etc. But these long vowels are not pure as they tend to show a syllabic break during their pronunciation or they are not held continuously without degeneration till the end. They behave more or less like sequences of two vowels with inter-syllabic transition. Although in the present transcription the quantity of the vowels are shown by transcribing them long, they could be written as geminated vowels and interpreted disyllabic for all practical purposes.

2. Velar nasal- The velar nasal ṅ is not given a clear phonemic status because it has doubtful occurrence as a single phone. More often it varies with the cluster ṅg than not. It does not occur as a pure consonant initially, between vowels or finally. In some consonant clusters, where it may occur as a single consonant, those examples are so few in the language that it would not be economical to give it a clear phonemic status. In a few words like ebɔṅ- and, bɔrɔṅ-rather, sutɔraṅ-therefore, etc, the velar nasal may be pronounced true to its phonetic value in final position, but it is still very unstable as it freely varies with ṅg, ũ, w̃ or even m. Before the velar stops where it occurs primarily in clusters, it does not contrast with other nasals, particularly n. The sound has a very restricted distribution and low frequency in the language. Even in citing the alphabet it is not pronounced ṅ, true to its name but wɔ̃ .

3. Retroflex flap- The voiced retroflex flap ɽ occurs only intervocalically and is in complementary distribution with the voiced retroflex stop ɖ, which occurs initially and before other consonants. But lately, a contrast between these two sounds has been introduced to the language by a large number of borrowed words mainly from English, where the retroflex voiced stop also occurs intervocalically. For example: reɖio-redio, peɖal-paddle, beɖiṅ- bedding, meɖal- medal, etc. Similarly also, ɽ is introduced into the inter-vocalic position through a few borrowed words like, boɽɔr-border, moɽɔr-murder, ɔɽɔr-order, ɔɽinari-ordinary, etc. Thus, a limited number of contrasts between ɖ and ɽ are registered in the language by virtue of which the ɽ has been given the status of a marginal phoneme. The ɽ in intervocalic position may also vary with a geminated ɖɖ, when the word is spoken with emphasis, i.e. maɽɔ ~ maɖɖɔ–beating; uɽeiba~uɖɖeiba-to make fly; baɽeiba~baɖɖeiba -to strike, etc.
4. Bilabial semi-vowel- The semi-vowel w although, is a low frequency sound, it has been introduced to the language through a number borrowed words both from Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources. The words from Sanskrit are: sɔtwɔ-royalty, tɔtwɔ-gist, biswasɔ-faith, etc. The words from other languages are: hawa -wind, tawa-frying pan, wareɳṭ- warrant, etc. However, the semi-vowel due to its low frequency is largely in complementary distribution with u.
5. Palatal semi-vowel- The palatal semi-vowel y excepting a rare word or two does not occur initially but is quite frquent intervocalically or in consonant clusters, mainly borrowed from Sanskrit. Therefore, in the non-high varieties of the language in which Sanskrit loans are relatively few, y has a very limited occurrence and frequency. It has fewer cases of contrast with

vowel i. Yet, as clear pronounciation of semi-vowels is a mark of high variety, the sounds are not dropped out of the system.

(Note- It should however be noted that both the semi-vowels in spite of their low frequency and limited distribution and which may also appear to be in complementary distribution with u and i respectively and are therefore partly predictable, yet the distinct pronunciation of semi-vowels is a mark of high-Oriya and in the standard variety these are not dropped or distorted. In sub-standard varieties however, the semi-vowels may be variously mis-pronounced. Considering their prestige value, two distinct letters are used in Oriya to represent these two sounds and their use has been more or less fully standardized in the current spelling system.)

3.4

Oriya has a total of 38 phonemes of which 6 are vowels with their long and nasalized counterparts. The rest are consonants of which four are marginal.

The six vowels are : i, e, ɔ, a, o and u. The long vowels are transcribed as V: and the nasalized vowels as Ṽ

i. i is a close front vowel and the position of the lips is spread. The vowel is not as close as the cardinal i. There are two graphemes in the orthography for this vowel, i.e., hrɔswɔ i (short i) and dirghɔ i (long i), which are written as ଇ and ଈ , respectively. The speech sound occurs in all the positions, i,e. initially, medially and finally.

Ex. iṭa-brick, sipɔ -sea shell, khyɔti –loss.

Its long counterpart i: occurs in a few words. All verb roots of CiC structure, when occur in isolation are predictably long. An example of the short/long contrast is : pila-child, pi:la- he drank, etc.

e e is a close-mid front vowel and the position of the lips is spread. The vowel is not as close as the cardinal e. The grapheme for the vowel is ଏ. The vowel occurs in all the three positions of the word: eka-alone, beḷa-time, jɔṇe-one person, etc. Its long counterpart e: occurs in a few words like: phe:re-again.

The vowel can be nasalized and occurs in all positions, i,e., ẽ– what, sẽsẽ - sizzling sound, ḍẽ - you jump, etc.

a. It is an open back vowel. The vowel is not as front or back as cardinal vowel but occupies a some what central position. The position of lips are neutral. The grapheme ଅ represents the sound. The vowel occurs in all positions. Ex. akhu- sugarcane, kanɔ-ear, pɔṭa-board, etc.

Its long counterpart a: occurs in a number of words Ex. ta:rɔ– his, ba:rɔ- twelve, etc. In mono-syllabic words of V or CV structure, the vowel is so long that it tends to be disyllabic. There is a perceptible break or transition in the quantity of the vowel, i.e. da: ~ da-a-sickle, na: ~ na-a-boat, etc. In CVC words the vowel is also predictably long but is not stable, i.e., it varies in quantity.

The vowel can be nasalized and occur in all positions. The nasalized vowel is always long: Ex.ã:-open mouth, jã:ḷa-twins, gã:-village etc.

ɔ It is an open-mid back vowel but not as back or as rounded as the cardinal vowel. The position of the lips are slightly rounded. The grapheme ଅ stands for this sound. It occurs in all positions. Ex. ɔja-grand father, kɔḷɔ-machine, bisɔ-poison, etc.

Its long counterpart occurs in some words like chɔ: -six, dhɔ: - catch, bɔ: -sit, etc. There are a few minimal pairs where the short and the long vowels contrast. Ex. nɔrɔ–man, nɔ:rɔ -palace, sɔḷɔkhɔ-straight, sɔ:ḷɔ-early, etc.

The nasalized vowel occurs in all positions of a word. Ex. ɔ̃sei– maggot, sɔ-baḷua-caterpillar, kɔ̃:ḷɔ-soft, nɔ̃ -bend, etc.

o It is a close-mid back vowel but not as back, or rounded as the cardinal vowel. The grapheme ଓ represents this sound. It occurs in all positions but is rather infrequent in the final position.

Ex. oda-wet, moṭa-fat, mo-mine, etc.

Its long counterpart occurs in words like: mo:rɔ-mine, to:rɔ-your, etc.

The frequency of a nasalised õ is also low.

(Note- It may be mentioned that, generally the vowel o has a low frequency in the language and in many dialects of Oriya- both caste and regional, the vowel corresponds to u, leading to a five vowel system)

u. It is a close back vowel. The lips are fully rounded. This sound also has two letters in the orthography: ଉ -(hraswa u) and ଊ- (dirghɔ u). Their use in the writing is based upon conventional Sanskritic spelling. The sound occurs in all positions. Ex. uccɔ- high, kuṭa-straw, akhu-sugarcane etc.

Its long counterpart u: is rather rare but occurs in a few words like, tu:ni-silent, pu:ṇi-again, etc. The vowel is also predicatably long in CVC words like, su:ṇ-listen, su:r-tune, cu:r-grind, etc.

The vowel is nasalized in words like, ũiba-to rise, sũã-wild rice, dhũã-smoke, mũ-1, etc.

3.4.1

Oriya has a total of 32 consonant phonemes including four marginal phonemes. The regular phonemes fall into the categories of stop, affricate, nasal, lateral, tapped and fricative. The stops are made at four points of contact and are paired along the dimensions of voice and aspiration. The affricates which are made by palatal occlusion are

also paired along the same dimensions as stops. They also show the same pattern of distribution as stops. For all purposes, the affricates are treated as belonging to the category of stops.

p -bilabial voiceless stop and is written as ପ in Oriya. It occurs in all positions: pita-bitter, kɔpa- cotton, kɔp-cup etc.

b - bilabial voiced stop. It is represented by two letters named 'bɔrgyɔ ba' – ବ and ɔntyɔsthɔ ba'. The former is supposed to represent a stop and the latter a semi-vowel, but as the difference in spelling is lost, a new letter ୱ has been introduced to the writing system now, to write the bilabial semi-vowel. It occurs in all positions: bɔgɔ - crane, cabi – key, bhab – think, etc.

ph - bilabial voiceless aspirated stop and is written as ଫ. It occurs in words like : phɔṇa – hood of a snake, sɔpha – clean, bɔrɔph – ice, etc.

bh - bilabial voiced aspirated stop and is written as ଭ It occurs in words like : bhari – heavy, sɔbha – meeting, etc.

t - dental voiceless stop. It is written as ତ and occurs in words like tara – star, suta – thread, sat – seven

d - dental voiced stop. It is written as ଦ and occurs in words like, dɔya – mercy, mɔdɔ - alcohol, bɔd – bad, etc.

th -dental voiceless aspirated stop. It is written as ଥ and occurs in words like, thɔḷi – bag, rɔthɔ - chariot, mɔnth – squeeze, etc.

dh -dental voiced aspirated stop. It is written as ଧ and occurs in words like, dhɔḷa – white, dudhɔ - milk, pindh – wear, etc.

ṭ - voiceless retroflex stop. It is written as ଟ and occurs in words like, ṭɔṅka – money, baṭɔ - path, kaṭ - cut, etc.

ḍ -voiced retroflex stop. It is written as ଡ. It has a limited distribution and it is partialy in complementary distribution with

ṛ It occurs initially and after homorganic nasals and also intervocalically in a few borrowed words. In the current standard variety however, the speech sound is already in contrast with ṛ. It occurs in words like, ḍeṇa – wings, muṇḍɔ - head, meḍal – medal, etc.

ṭh -voiceless retroflex aspirated stop and it is written as ଠ. It occurs in words like, ṭhɔkɔ - cheat, kaṭhɔ - wood, uṭh – get up etc.

ḍh -voiced retroflex aspirated stop. It is written as ଢ . It has an allophone. ṛh-voiced retroflex aspirated flap which occurs intervocalically and finally. The stop occurs only initially or in cluster with a consonant. Ex. ḍhipɔ - mound, meṇḍha – sheep, bɔrnaḍhyɔ - colourful, etc. The allophone ṛh occurs else where, i.e., kɔṛhi-bud, gɔṛhɔṇɔ - built, deṛh-1½, pɔṛh-read, etc.

c - voiceless palatal affricate. It is written as ଚ and occurs in words like: cɔmɔ -skin, pɔca-rotten, myac- match , etc.

j - voiced palatal affricate. It is written by two scripts - one called 'bɔrgyɔ jɔ' – ଜ and the other 'ɔntysthɔ jɔ - ଯ . Both the letters are pronounced jɔ , although the name given to the latter is jyɔ . The phoneme occurs in words like-jiba – to go, bajɔ -hawk, bhaj-fry, etc.

ch - voiceless aspirated palatal affricate. It is written as ଛ and occurs in words like. churi-knife, machi-fly, bach-choose, etc.

jh -voiced aspirated palatal affricate. It is written as ଝ and occurs in words like-jhiɔ -daughter, mɔjhi-middle, bujh-understand, etc.

k - voiceless velar stop. It is written as କ and occurs in words like. kɔḷa-black, nakɔ -nose, ḍak-call etc.

g -voiced velar stop. It is written as ଗ and occurs in words like gai-cow, pagɔ-weather, byag – bag etc.

kh - voiceless aspirated velar stop. It is written as ଖ and occurs in words like-khɔṇi-mines, pɔkhi-bird, sikh-a Sikh man, etc.

gh - voiced aspirated velar stop. It is written as ଘ and occurs in words like, ghɔrɔ-house, baghɔ- tiger, suṅgh –smell, etc.

m - bilabial nasal. It is written as ମ , and occurs in words like, maṭi – earth, kamɔ - work, dam- price, etc.

n -dental nasal. It is written as ନ and occurs in words like, nijɔ -own, kanɔ-ear, man-obey, etc.

It has a palatal nasal as its allophone, which occurs only before palatal affricate, i.e., lañcɔ-bribe, mɔñji-seed etc.

The velar nasal also is mostly in complementary distribution with n. But since, the velar nasal ṅ, is given a marginal phonemic status, for reasons stated above (see section 3.3.4), it is not treated as an allophone of dental nasal.

ṇ - retroflex nasal. Except before homorganic consonants, it is normally pronounced as a nasal flap. It is written as ଣ. Barring the initial position, it occurs in all positions like kɔṇa-hole, kɔṇṭa-thorn, suṇ-listen, etc.

ṅ - valar nasal. It is written as ଙ. It occurs in words like- beṅgɔ- frog, dɔṅsiba-to sting, ebɔṅ- and, etc.

l - alveolar lateral. It is written as ଲ. It occurs in words like, lɔmba-long, tala-lock, cal – move etc.

ḷ - retroflex lateral flap. It is written as ଳ. Barring the initial position, it occurs in other positions like, kaḷi-ink, kḷantɔ-tired, paḷ-tend, etc.

r -tapped resonant. It is written as ଋ and occurs in words like -rɔsɔ-juice, sɔrɔ-cream, cear-chair, etc.

ṛ -voiced retroflex flap. It is written as a variant of ଡ with a dot below, i.e, ଡ଼. Barring the initial position, it occurs in other positions like, bɔṛɔ- large, siṛi – ladder, kaṛ-card, etc.

s - voiceless dental fricative. It is written as ସ, but two other sibilant letters ଶ and ଷ also have the same phonetic value. It occurs in words like, sɔtɔ- true, bisɔ - poison, pas-pass, etc.

h -glottal fricative. It is written as ହ and occurs in words like, hɔsɔ -laugh, bɔhi-book, rɔh – stop, etc.

w -bilabial semi-vowel. Although there is some controversy in writing this sound in Oriya, the generally accepted letter for it now is ୱ . It occurs in words like, wajib-genuine, tawa-pan, dwara-by etc.

y -palatal semi-vowel. It is written as ୟ. Barring the initial position, it occurs in other positions like, nyayɔ- justice, baya –mad, ray – verdict, etc.

3.5

There are no true diphthongs in Oriya. In rapid speech some vowels may be diphthongized, but they are not stable. Therefore, all vowel sequences including the long vowels can be treated as disyllabic.

The vowel sequences are:-

ɔ + ɔ , i, u.

Ex. sɔɔḷɔ - early, nɔi - river, kɔu- a fish. The first sequence is treated as a long vowel phonemically. For the last two sequences, there are separate letters like- ୈ -ɔi, and ୌ-ɔu.

a+ɔ , a. i, u, e,

Ex. jaɔ -go, taarɔ - his, ai-grand mother, au-more, pae-a quarter.

The geminated sequence is treated phonemically a long vowel.

i+ɔ , a,i, u, e,o

Ex. ghiɔ-ghee, jia- earth worm, piili –I drank, /pi:li/, piu – we drink, ie - this man, kio – hello!

(It may be noted here that o does not occur as the second member of a vowel sequence except rarely. kio-hello!, mao-tse-tung, deo-a title, reḍio-radio are about only examples of these sequences.)

u+ɔ , a,i,e,u.

Ex. puɔ - son, ua - unsteamed rice, ui - termite, sue - I sleep, puuṇi-again/pu:ṇi/

e+i,e,u,o

Ex. ei - this one, pheere – again/phe:re/, seu – apple, deo-a title.

o+i, u,o

Ex. poi – a plant, sou – we sleep, dooṛɔ - repeat/do:ṛɔ/

3.6

Except for a few genuine clusters which occur either word initially or word finally, all other consonant clusters occur only in inter-syllabic position, that is interrupted by a syllable boundary, and are therefore only consonant sequences. These sequences are quite large in number and are mostly borrowed from Sanskrit or English. The following chart lists all the two consonant clusters including initial and final clusters. The consonants listed in the vertical axis represent the first member of the cluster and those listed in the horizontal axis are the second member. The clusters which are marked by a star may occur word initially or finally.

	p	ph	b	bh	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṛ	ṛh	c	ch	j	jh	k	kh	g	gh	ṃ	n	ṇ	ñ	r	ṛ	l	ḷ	s	h	w	y
p					pṭ				pṭ											pn			pr*		pl*	pḷ*				py*
ph																							phr*							by*
b			bb				bd	bdh					bj										br*							bhy
bh															tk	tkh				tm			bhr*						tw*	ty*
t	tp	tph			tt	tth											dg	dgh					tr*							thy
th																							dr*						ɗw*	dy*
d			db	dbh			dd	ddh					dj										dhr*						ɗhw*	dhy*
dh																							ṛ*							ṭy*
ṭ					ṭṭ																									ṭhy
ṭh																							ḍr*							
ḍ							ḍḍ										ḍg													
ḍh											cc	cch			ck															
c																														
ch													jj										jr						jw*	jy
j																				jm										
jh															kk					km			kr*		kl*	kḷ*	ks		kw	ky
k					kt						kc									khm	khṃ		khr*		gl*	gḷ*				khy*
kh																					gn	gṇ	gr*							gy*
g							gdh																ghr*							
gh																														my
m	mp	mph	mb	mbh	mṭ						mc								mm	mn			mr*		ml	mḷ*	ms	mh		ny
n					nt	nth	nd	ndh			nc	nch	nj	njh					nm	nn			nr*				ns	nh	nw	
ṇ									nṭ	nṭh	ṇd	ṇḍh	ṇc						ṇm								ṇs			
ṅ					ṅt										ṅk	ṅkh	ṅg	ṅgh	ṅm											
r	rp		rb	rbh	rt	rth	rd	rdh			rc	rch	rj		rk	rkh	rg	rgh	rm	m			rr				rs	rh		
ṛ																									ll			lh	lw	ly*
l							ld								lk		lg													
ḷ	ḷp		ḷb	ḷbh											ḷk				ḷm										sw*	sy*
s	sp*	spl*			st*	sth*			st*	sṭh			sc	sch		sk*	skh*		sm*	sn*			sr*			sḷ*			
h																							hr*						hw	hy
w																														
y																														

Examples:

p+t, ṭ, n, *r, *l, *ḷ, *y

kapta – dove, cepṭa – pressed, swɔpnɔ-dream,

biprɔ - Brahmin, prɔsnɔ-question,

plɔg – electric plug,

bipḷɔbɔ-revolution, pḷabɔnɔ - flood

raupyɔ-silver, pyaṇṭ – pants.

ph+*r

aphrika-Africa, phrɔk – frock

b+ b, d, dh, j, *r, *y

kabba – stunned, sɔbdɔ -sound, lɔbdhɔ - gained, kɔbja- hinge,

jebra – zebra, brɔṇɔ - pimple

nɔbyɔ - new, byɔyɔ - expenditure

bh+*r, y

ɔbhrɔ - mica, bhrulɔta – eye brow,

ɔbhyasɔ - habit

t+p, ph, t, th, k, kh, m, n, *r, *w, *y

utpatɔ - mischief, utpheṇɔ - striking pose,

uttɔrɔ - reply, utthanɔ - rising, utkɔḷɔ - Orissa,

utkhiptɔ- agitated, atma – soul, rɔtnɔ - jewel

sɔtru –enemy, trusna – thirst, tɔtwɔ - essence, twɔca – skin

hɔtya - murder, tyagɔ - sacrifice

th + y

tɔthyɔ - fact

d+b, bh, d, dh, j, g, gh, m, *r, *w, *y

udbastu – refugee, udbhɔṭɔ - weird, uddamɔ - excited, uddhɔtɔ

-arrogant, udjapɔnɔ - termination, udgarɔ - erruption, udghaṭɔnɔ -inauguration

pɔdmɔ - lotus, chidrɔ - hole, drɔbyɔ - goods, chɔdwɔ̃ - disguise, dwɔyɔ - two

udyanɔ - garden, dyutɔ - gambling

dh+*r,*w, *y

udhrutɔ - quoted, dhrubɔ - pole star, madhwɔ - name of a Hindu saint, dhwɔni – sound,

ɔdhyayɔ - chapter, dhyanɔ - meditation.

ṭ+ṭ, n, *r, *y

ɔṭṭaḷika – building, paṭna – a place name, kuṭra – deer, ṭrɔk truck

naṭyɔ - dance, ṭyusɔn – tuition

ṭh+y

paṭhyɔ - lesson

ḍ+ḍ, g, *r

uḍḍinɔ - flying, khɔḍgɔ ~ khɔṛgɔ - sword

maḍras – a place name, ḍrɔm – drum

ḍh+y

bɔrnaḍhyɔ - colourful

c+c, ch, k, y

sɔcca – true, swɔcchɔ - transparent, pucka – chubby, bicyutɔ- separated.

j+j, m,r, *w, *y

mɔjja – marrow, ajma- asthma, bajra – millet, ujwɔḷɔ - bright, jwɔɪɔ - fever

rajyɔ - kingdom, jyamiti – geometry

k+t,c,k,m,*r, *l, *ḷ, s, w, y

rɔktɔ - blood, ḍekci – metal pot, pɔkka – building, rukmiṇi – a name

cɔkrɔ - wheel, krɔmɔ - order, bɔklis – buckles, klas – class

sukḷɔ - white, kḷantɔ - tired, baksɔ - box, pɔkwɔ - ripe, bakyɔ -sentence

kh+m, ṇ, *r, *y

sukhmɔ - delicate, tikhṇɔ - sharp, khristɔ - Christ, cɔkhyu – eye, khyudha – hunger

g+dh, n, ṇ, *r, *l, *ḷ, *y

dugdhɔ - milk, ɔgni – fire, rugṇɔ - sick, byɔgrɔ - eager, gramɔ- village, glas – glass,

gḷani – regret, bigyanɔ - science, gyas – gas.

gh+*r

sighrɔ - quickly, ghruṇa – hatred.

m+*p, ph, b, bh, t, c, m, n, *r, l, *ḷ, s, h, y

tɔmpɔ - viper, lyamp – lamp, bamphɔ - steam, ambɔ - mango, dɔmbhɔ - strength,

kɔmti – deficit, camca – spoon, sɔmmanɔ - honour, samna – front, nɔmrɔ - gentle,

mrugɔ - deer, gɔmla – bowl,

ɔmḷɔ - acidity, mḷanɔ - faint, tamsa – opera,

bramhɔṇɔ - Brahmin, kamyɔ - desirable.

n+t, *th, *d, *dh, *c, ch, j, jh, m,n, *r, s, h, w, *y

jɔnta – cage,

pentha – bunch, gunth – to thread, mɔndɔ - bad, bɔnd- stop, ɔndhɔ - blind, bandh – bind, chunci – needle, panc – five, bancha

– wish, sɔnjɔ - evening, banjhɔ - barren, nrutyɔ - dance, sɔnsarɔ -world, jɔnhɔ - moon, ɔnwɔyɔ - analysis, bɔnya – flood, nyaya – justice.

ṇ +*ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, c, m

aṇṭɔ -strong, pyaṇṭ – pants

aṇṭhu – knee, muṇḍɔ - head, sɔṇḍhɔ - bull, ɔṇcaḷis – 39

saṇmasikɔ - half-yearly

ṅ + t, *k, kh, *g, *gh, m, s

pɔṅti – paragraph

pɔṅkɔ - mire, byaṅk – blank

sɔṅkhɔ - conch shell

rɔṅgɔ - colour, bhaṅg – break

jɔṅghɔ - thigh, suṅgh – smell

baṅmɔyɔ - articulate, hɔṅsɔ – swan

r + p, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, c, ch, j, *k, kh, g, gh, m, n, r, s, h

sɔrpɔ - snake, pɔrbɔ - festival, gɔrbhɔ - pregnancy

sɔrtɔ - condition, ɔrthɔ - meaning, mɔrdɔ – male,

ɔrdhɔ - half, khɔrcɔ - expenditure, bɔrcha – spears

dɔrji - tailor

tɔrkari – curry, park – park

murkhɔ - fool, swɔrgɔ - heaven, dirghɔ - long, cɔrmɔ - leather

purnɔ - full, chɔrra – pellet, bɔrsa – rain, barha – boar

l + d, k, g l, h, w, *y

jɔldi – soon, phulka – puffed, bɔlga – rein deer,

mɔlli – jasmine, alhadɔ - joy, bilwɔ - wood apple,

mulyɔ - price, lyamp – lamp.

ļ + p, bh, k, m

ɔļpɔ - less

prɔgɔļbhɔ - talkative

bɔļkɔļɔ - bark, kɔļmɔsɔ - sin

s + *p, *ph, *t, *th, *ţ, ţh, c, ch, *k, *kh, *m, *n, *r, *ļ, *w,*y

puspɔ - flower, spɔrsɔ - touch

nisphɔļɔ - failure, sphitɔ - broad

postɔ - poppy seed, stɔrɔ - layer

ɔsthi – bone, sthanɔ - place

kɔsţɔ - difficulty, sţesɔn – station

sɔsţhɔ - sixth, pɔscimɔ - west, uschɔbɔ - festival,

muskil – troublesome, skul – school

skhɔļɔnɔ - degeneration

grismɔ - summer, smitɔ - smile

prɔsnɔ - question, snanɔ - bath

asra – support, srɔmɔ - labour

bisļesɔṇɔ - analysis, sļesɔ - pun

biswɔ - world, swɔrɔ -voice

sɔsyɔ - crop, syamɔ – blue/green.

h + *r, w, y

byɔbɔhrutɔ - used, hrɔdɔ - lake

ahwanɔ - call

bahyɔ - external.

This is a total inventory of all two – member clusters in Oriya.

3.6.1

These clusters fall into four sub-types: geminated, initial, medial and final of which the medial clusters are most prolific.

(i) The geminated clusters are: bb, tt, dd, ṭṭ, ḍḍ, cc, jj, kk, mm, nn, rr and ll

(ii) The initial clusters are:

pr, pl, pḷ, py

phr

br, by

bhr

tr, tw, ty

dr, dw, dy

dhr, dhw, dhy

ṭr, ṭy

ḍr

jw

kr, kl, kḷ

khr, khy

gr, gl, gḷ, gy

ghr

mr, mḷ, my

nr, ny

ly

sp, sph, st, sth, sṭ, sk, skh, sm, sn, sr, sḷ, sw, sy, hr.

The general pattern of the initial clusters is that except s, all other consonants combine only with liquids or semi-vowels. The liquids are: r, l and ḷ and the semi-vowels are: w and y.

(iii)The final clusters are still more rare and are limited to a few homorganic sequences like: mp, nth, nd, ndh, nc, ṇṭ, ṅk, ṅg, ṅgh. rk is the only exception to this general rule. These clusters come mainly from English borrowed words or from 2nd singular non-honorific imperative verb.

(iv)The total inventory of medial clusters is given above.

The cluster chart shows many holes, some of which are accidental and others systematic. For example, although all the five kinds of unaspirated stops can occur in geminated clusters, the two stops which are missing from the list are p and g. There is no good reason explaining these holes and are to be treated as accidental. On the other hand, s combines with all the voiceless stops but never with the voiced stops. The restriction is systematic.

3.7

Again, mainly through Sanskrit borrowings, a few three-consonant clusters have entered the language. Only 3 of these clusters like spr, skr, smr may also occur word initially. The rest of the three-consonant clusters occurring medially are restricted to inter-syllabic position. These clusters are formed with r, w and y only.

Ex.

(i)	kt + r	- bɔktrɔ	-face
	nt	- jɔntrɔ	-machine
	nd	- mɔndrɔ	-slow
	ndh	- rɔndhrɔ	-hole
	ṇḍ	- puṇḍrɔ	-a place name
	mp	- sɔmprɔdayɔ	-sect

mbh	- sɔmbhrantɔ	-aristocratic
*sp	- nisprɔbhɔ	-dim, spruha – eagerness
st̤	- rast̤rɔ	-country
*sk	- purɔskrutɔ	-rewarded, skru – screw
*sm	- bismrutɔ	-forgotten, smruti – memory
rt	- kɔrtrupɔkhyɔ	-authority
rd	- ardrɔ	-wet
(ii) nt + w	- santwɔna	- consolation
nd	- dwɔndwɔ	-conflict
rs	- parswɔ	-side
rdh	- urdhwɔ	-upper
(iii) tm + y	- dɔuratmyɔ	- notoriety
nt	- dɔntyɔ	-dental
ndh	- bɔndhya	- barren
sth	- swasthyɔ	-health
sch	- mɔschyɔ	-fish
rt	- mɔrtyɔ	-earth
rj	- surjyɔ	-sun
rgh	- ɔrghyɔ	-libation

There is only one example of a four-consonant cluster, i.e, ntry - swatɔntryɔ - autonomy.

3.8

A syllable is a sound or succession of sounds uttered with a single breath-impulse. Every Oriya word contains as many syllables as

it has vowels. A general formula for Oriya syllabic structure can be given as $C_{0-3}VC_{0-2}$. For the non-initial syllables also the structure is almost the same. In Oriya, monosyllabic, disyllabic and tri-syllabic words are most frequent. However, without the loan vocabulary, the most preferred native syllabic structures are CVCV and CVCVCV. The following syllables may occur in isolation.

V	- a	-come
VC	- uṭh	- get up
VCC	- aṅk	- draw
CV	- ca	- tea
CVC	- ḍak	- call
CVCC	- bandh	– tie
CCVC	- ḍrɔm	- drum
CCVCC	- pyaṇṭ	- pants

(i) The rules of syllable division is, a single consonant goes with the following vowel:

Ex. ɔ-da - ginger

bɔ-ṛɔ -large

hɔ-ṭat - suddenly, etc.

(ii) In case of two or more consonants, the division falls after the first consonant:

Ex. dɔṇ-ḍɔ -punishment

chin-nɔ -broken

in-drɔ -god Indra

as-cɔr-jyɔ -surprise, etc.

3.9

Phonotactics is essentially a description of the distribution of phonemes, once they have been identified.

(i) The phonotactic limitations with reference to a vowel: A syllable consisting of an a vowel can not have another a vowel in the neighbouring syllable. But this rule is rather weak in Oriya as there are many exceptions to this rule. Yet, the rule applies strongly to the (C)aC – verb roots.

Ex. mag-a → mɔga - begging
caṭ-a → cɔṭa - licking
haṇ-a → hɔṇa - hacking
aṇ-a → ɔṇa - bringing, etc.

Exceptions to this rule are:

1. (C)aCa verb roots which are derived from nouns.
   baṛi – stick: baṛa – to beat
   aṇṭhu – knee : aṇṭha – to kneel
   kandhɔ - shoulder : kandha – to carry on shoulder
   laḷɔ - saliva: laḷa – to salivate
   garɔ - line: gara – to scribble, etc.
2. (C)aCa words are retained if the C is a h:
   aha – alas!
   caha – tea
   baha - arm
   naha - boat
   pahacɔ -steps, etc
3. In many of the kinship words this rule is not followed:
   kaka - uncle(younger)

bapa - father

dada - uncle

mama - uncle(maternal), etc.

4. Reduplicated onomatopoeic words do not follow the rule:

haha - laugh

kaka - crowing

khãkhã - solitude

bhãbhã - dizziness, etc.

5. A large number of words borrowed from different sources do not follow the rule:

thana - police station

hawa - wind

bhasa - language

rasta - road

khata - note book

taja - fresh

badam - almond

akasɔ - sky

acarɔ -pickle

matal - drunk, etc.

(ii) Phonotactic limitations with reference to dental and retroflex stops. A syllable consisting of a retroflex stop cannot have another retroflex stop preceding it. This could be only a dental stop. The same rule applies to consecutive syllables involving these phonemes.

Ex.

tuṭiba - to break

taṭɔ -basket

thɔṇṭɔ -beak

dhɔṇḍɔ - water snake

thɔṇḍa - cool

tɔṭɔka - fresh, etc.

Exceptions to this rule are the reduplicated onomatopoeic words:

ḍhuḍhu - heavy shower

ṭhoṭho - loud laughter

ḍuḍu - a game

ḍhoḍha - loud bangs, etc.

(iii) Phonotactic limitations with reference to r and the flaps, i.e., ṛ, ṛh, ḷ and ṇ. A syllable consisting of a flap cannot be followed by an r- syllable, unless intervened by an internal juncture:

Ex.

sɔṛu-rɔ -of the co-brother

kɔḷi-ru - due to the dispute

paṛu-ra - stink-bug, etc.

Because of the phonotactic pressure the last form is metathisized to paruṛa.

Other exceptions to this rule are some borrowed words from English, like: bɔṛɔr – border, mɔṛɔr- murder, ɔṛɔr- order, etc.

(iv)Aspirated phonemes and h do not occur in a single syllable or in consecutive syllables. The exceptions are reduplicated onomatopoeic words:

Ex.

ḍhoḍho - loud bangs

bhobho - barking

jhɔrjhɔr - rushing water

huhu - wild fire, etc.

(v) A CVC syllable with r onset cannot have an identical coda, i.e., rVr syllables do not occur. The same restriction also applies to consecutive syllables, unless intervened by an internal juncture.

Ex

ghɔrɔ-rɔ - of the house

churi-re - with the knife

dɔri-ru - from the carpet, etc

(vi) ḍ, ḍh phonemes do not occur intervocalically unless intervened by an internal juncture, i.e.,

ni-ḍɔrɔ - fearless

ɔ-ḍhil - stomachfull, etc.

3.10

(i) [e / o] -a → [i / u] /-a

e, o followed by a alternate with i, u, respectively.

Ex.

de-a → dia - giving

ne-a → nia - taking

dho-a → dhua - washing

so-a → sua - sleeping, etc.

(ii) a/ -i → e/-i

a alternates with e when followed by i

Ex.

ɔṇa-i → ɔṇei -bringing

cɔḍhai → cɔḍhei - bird

kɔṛai → kɔṛei - pan, etc.

(iii) a/-u → ɔ/-u

a alternates with ɔ when followed by u

Ex

kɔra-u → kɔrɔu – we cause to do

lekha-u → lekhɔu – we make write, etc.

(iv) a/-a → ɔ/-a

a alternates with ɔ when followed by a

Ex.

aṇ-a → ɔṇa - bringing

aṅk-a → ɔṅka - drawing

ɔjaṛ-a → ɔjɔṛa - pouring

pɔcar – a → pɔcɔra - asking, etc.

(v) $\begin{bmatrix} ɔ \\ \\ o \end{bmatrix} / - \begin{bmatrix} e \\ ɔ \\ a \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow u / - \begin{bmatrix} e \\ ɔ \\ a \end{bmatrix}$

In the verb root of CVh structure, if the root vowel is ɔ or o, they alternate with u when followed by e, ɔ or a

Ex

kɔh-e	→ kuhe	- I speak
rɔh-ɔ	→ ruhɔ	-you stop
kɔh-a	→ kuha	-speaking
soh-e	→ suhe	-it fits
boh-ɔ	→ buhɔ	-you carry
boh-a	→ buha	-carrying

(vi) a/-a → u/-a

In the verb root of CVh structure, if the root vowel is a, it alternates with u when followed by a

Ex.

bah-a	→ buha	-rowing
pah-a	→ puha	-dawning, etc

(vii) A syllable consisting of o, ɔu when followed by o, alternates with ɔ

Ex

go-lokɔ → golɔkɔ - world

(bhu) bhɔu-goḷikɔ→ bhɔugɔḷikɔ -geographical, etc.

The rules for internal morphophonemic alternations are not exhaustively treated here to avoid frequent cross reference. These will be treated under the morphology of different word classes.

CHAPTER - IV

Noun

4.1

Nouns are a class of words the bases of which can be inflected for gender, number and case. There are also a few other markers like article and numeral classifiers by which the nouns can be identified.

4.1.1

The noun can be marked by the article ṭi or ṭa for definiteness,

Ex.

1. jhiɔ so-ichi
   girl sleep-has
   girl has slept
2. jhiɔ-ṭi so-ichi
   girl- the sleep-has.
   The girl has slept
3. ghoṛa dɔuṛ-uchi
   horse run – is
   horse is running

4. ghoṛa-ṭa dɔuṛ-uchi
   horse the run is
   The horse is running

The definite article –ṭi occurs only with singular nouns and contrasts with – ṭa. The former signifies feeling or affection while the latter is more or less neutral and lacks in feeling or affection. The inanimate nouns do not normally take the –ṭi suffix and occur only with –ṭa,

Ex.

5. kaṭhɔ bhas-uchi
   wood float –is
   Wood is floating
6. kaṭhɔ-ṭa bhas-uchi
   wood the float –is
   The wood is floating

On the other hand the animate nouns take both ṭi and ṭa

7. jhiɔ-ṭi pɔḍh-uchi
   girl the read-is
   The girl is reading (with feeling)
8. jhiɔ-ṭa pɔḍh-uchi
   girl the read-is
   The girl is reading (without feeling)

If the articles ṭi/ṭa take the numeral marker –e, the form functions as a numeral classifier for 'one'

Ex.

9. jhiɔ-ṭi-e ga-uchi
   girl one sing-is

One girl is singing (with feeling)

10. jhiɔ-ṭa-e ~ṭe ga-uchi

girl one sing-is

One girl is singing (without feeling)

With the addition of –e the articles also lose their 'definiteness' and may mean: one (certain) girl is singing (with/without feeling).

If the numeral –e for 'one' is added to the numeral phrase no other numeral occur in that construction and vice-versa, i.e.,

*taṅkɔrɔ goṭie sundɔri jhiɔ-ṭi-e ɔchi

his one pretty daughter one has

He has a pretty daughter

The correct constructions would be;

11. taṅkɔrɔ sundɔri jhiɔ-ṭi-e ɔchi

his pretty daughter one has

He has a pretty daughter

Or,

12. taṅkɔrɔ goṭie sundɔri jhiɔ ɔchi

his one pretty daughter has

He has one pretty daughter

If any other numeral is added to the phrase, the –e- 'one' is naturally dropped and the article ṭi/ṭa are added to the higher numeral,

Ex.

13.taṅkɔrɔ dui-ṭi sundɔri jhiɔ ɔchɔnti

his two pretty daughter has

He has two pretty daughters (with feeling)

14.taṅkɔrɔ dui-ṭa moṭi jhiɔ ɔchɔnti

his two fat daughter has

He has two fat daughters (without feeling)

Proper nouns and pronouns may also take ṭi/ṭa,

Ex.

15.mũ-ṭa boka

I fool

I am a fool (without feeling)

16.ei-ṭi kie?

this one who

Who is this one? (with feeling)

17. ramɔ-ṭa dusṭɔ kintu sita-ṭi guṇɔrɔ

rama naughty but sita nice

Rama is naughty but Sita is nice

There is yet another morpheme -kɔ which is traditionally placed in this paradigm of –ie/-ae~e. The -ikɔ /-akɔ contrast with –ie/-ae only after the two numeral classifiers goṭ- and khɔṇḍ- and the plural marker guṛ-.

These forms are:

goṭ-ie/ goṭ-ae~goṭe and goṭ-ikɔ /goṭ-akɔ

khɔṇḍ-ie/khɔṇḍ-e and khɔṇḍ-ikɔ /khɔṇḍɔ-kɔ;

and, guṛ-ie/ guṛ-ae~ guṛe and guṛ-ikɔ /guṛ-akɔ.

The morphemes –ie/-ae and -ikɔ /-akɔ retain the contrast between i/a, which stand for the speaker's feeling or its absence and the contrast between -kɔ and –e is that of definiteness and indefinitness, respectively

18. mɔte goṭ-ae ~ goṭe ṭaṅka diɔ

to me one rupee give

Give me one rupee

19.mɔte goṭ-akɔ ṭɔṅka diɔ

to me one rupee give

Give me the (one) rupee

However, with the numeral classifiers other than goṭ- and khɔṇḍ, -i/-a morphemes for 'feeling' do not occur and the form -kɔ contrasts with –e, which stand for 'definiteness' and 'indefiniteness', respectively:

Ex.

20. pulis jɔṇ-e as-ithila

police human-one come-had

One policeman had come.

21 pulis jɔṇɔ-kɔ as-ithila

police human-one come-had

That one policeman had come.

These four morphemes –ṭi/-ṭa, -e and -kɔ which contrast after singular nouns perform a number of related functions:

(i) as a definite article:

22. gai as-uchi

cow come-is

Cow is coming

23. gai-ṭi/-ṭa as-uchi

cow the come – is

The cow is coming (with/without feeling)

(ii) as a marker of the speaker's attitude or feeling:

24. gai-ṭi as-uchi

cow the come-is

The cow is coming (with feeling)

25. gai-ṭa as-uchi

cow the come-is

The cow is coming (without feeling)

However, with inanimate nouns normally only –ṭa occurs unless a special case is made for speaker's feeling, i.e.,

26.citrɔ-ṭi bhari sundɔr

picture the very beautiful

The picture is very beautiful

(iii) as a classifier for count nouns (with/without feeling)

27. dui –ṭi/ṭa ghoṛa

two horse

two horses

28. pancɔ-ṭi/ṭa ghoṛa

five horse

five horses

29. dɔsɔ-ṭi/ṭa ambɔ

ten mangoes

30. sɔh-e ṭi/-ṭa ambɔ

one hundred mangoes

The mass nouns are not counted with –ṭi/ -ṭa, unless they take a quantifier: (see section 5.3).

Ex.

31. maṭhia –ṭi/ṭa paṇi

pot water

one pot of water

(iv) as a singular marker

32. phulɔ phuṭ-ichi

flower bloom-has

flowers have bloomed

33. phulɔ-ṭi/-ṭa phuṭ-ichi

flower-one bloom-has

One flower has bloomed (definite)

The morpheme –e occurs after ṭi/ṭa and other classifiers and quantifiers and means 'one'. It too can be substituted by other numerals:

34. mũ bɔhi-ṭa-e~ṭe kiṇ-ili

I book-classifier-one buy-did

I bought one book

35. mũ dui-ṭa bɔhi kiṇ-ili

I two-classi. book buy-did

I bought two books.

36. jɔṇ-e lokɔ as-ithila

classi.-one person had come

One person had come

37. dui jɔṇɔ lokɔ as-ithile

two classi. person come-had

Two persons had come

The morpheme -kɔ occurs after classifiers and quantifiers and gives the meaning of definiteness and of a measuring unit:

38. ei lokɔ jɔṇɔ-kɔ mo bhai

this person classi. my brother

This person is my brother (specific)

39. ei maṭhia-kɔ paṇi miṭha

this pot-quanti. water sweet

This pot of water is sweet(specific)

All the four morphemes contrast somewhat losely in some environments:

40.rati paĩ asɔ

night for come

Come for night.

41.rati-ṭi paĩ asɔ

night the for come

Come for the night (with feeling)

42. rati-ṭa paĩ asɔ

night the for come

Come for the night (without feeling)

43.rati-ṭ-e paĩ asɔ

night-one for come

Come for one night (not two)

44.rati-kɔ paĩ asɔ

night just for come

Come for just one single night (specific)

Some Oriya grammarians believe that –kɔ also occurs after –ṭi, as in

45. telɔ ṭikɔ (~ṭikɔkɔ) diɔ

oil a little give

Give a little oil (specific)

But in the standard variety 'telɔ ṭikɔkɔ' is the correct form and not 'telɔ ṭikɔ', where the ṭikɔkɔ contrasts with ṭikie, as in,

46. telɔ ṭikie ~ ṭike diɔ

oil a little give

Give a little oil (unspecified)

Even if ṭikɔ is a possible form, then it should be treated as a case of haplology and the form should be read as ṭikɔkɔ. In our treatment of ṭiki-e/ṭikɔ-kɔ , 'ṭiki' in the above sentences is a completely different morpheme which means 'a little/small' and it is not a combination of ṭi and kɔ , mainly because this ṭi can not be substituted by –ṭa. ṭiki is a different morpheme and like goṭi, can take –e or -kɔ markers, as in,

47. telɔ ṭiki-e diɔ

oil a little give

Give a little oil (unspecified)

48. telɔ ṭikɔ-kɔ diɔ

oil a little give

Give a little oil (specified)

Similar is the case with jakɔ and tɔkɔ , i.e.,

49. telɔ jakɔ diɔ

oil all give

Give all the oil

50. telɔ tɔkɔ diɔ

oil whole give

Give the whole oil

Here, kɔ of jakɔ and tɔkɔ also cannot be segmented and these are single words meaning 'all, whole' etc. with a subtle meaning difference. Consider these examples:

51. ghɔrɔ jakɔ dhuãre bhɔrti

room all smoke full

The rooms are full of smoke.

But not, * ghɔrɔ tɔkɔ dhuãre bhɔrti, as tɔkɔ cannot occur with a count noun like ghɔrɔ. After mass nouns however, the difference between jakɔ and tɔkɔ is somewhat blurred. Normally, tɔkɔ occurs only with mass nouns and jakɔ with both mass and count nouns.

In Oriya, like ṭiki- a little, small, etc, there are a host of other morphemes which take –e and -kɔ. In fact, all the classifiers and the quantifiers retain this contrast, i.e.,

52.telɔ ṭhopa-e diɔ

oil drop-one give

Give one drop of oil (unspecified)

53.telɔ ṭhopa-kɔ diɔ

oil drop one give

Give that drop of oil (specified)

54. luga khoṇḍ-e kiṇɔ

cloth piece- one buy

Buy a piece of cloth (unspecified)

55. luga khoṇḍɔ-kɔ kiṇɔ

cloth piece one buy

Buy the piece of cloth (specified)

56. paṇi balṭi-e diɔ

water bucket one give

Give one bucket of water (unspecified)

57.paṇi balṭi-kɔ diɔ

water bucket one give

Give that one bucket of water (specified)

4.1.2

Oriya has two numbers: singular and plural. The singular is unmarked, except for the above said markers, ṭi, ṭa, e, kɔ which occur with singular forms. The plural markers are, -e, -mane and guṛi/guṛa. But these plural markers are also optional, when the noun is inanimate.

Ex.

1. gɔchɔ-re phulɔ phuṭ-ichi
   tree-in flower bloom-have
   Flowers have bloomed in the tree.
2. beta-re kɔdɔḷi ɔchi
   basket-in banana are
   There are bananas in the basket

In the case of animate nouns, the plural markers may also be dropped when the verb in its concord with the noun is marked for plurality.

Ex.

3. akasɔ-re cɔḍhei uṛ-uchɔnti
   sky-in bird fly-are
   Birds are flying in the sky
   Or
4. akasɔ-re cɔḍhei-mane uṛ-uchɔnti
   sky-in bird-plural fly-are
   Birds are flying in the sky

Similarly, for singular noun,

5. akasɔ-re cɔḍhei uṛ-uchi
   sky-in bird fly-is
   A bird is flying in the sky

There are three plural markers in Oriya, i.e., -e, -mane and –guṛi. Normally –e and –mane occur with animate nouns. But, there are many exceptions to this rule and the counter examples may be carefully noted.

Of the –e and –mane markers, -e is almost archaic and occurs only with a few fixed human nouns like, pila-child, lokɔ-people, etc.

Ex.

6. mo pila-e~pile/pila-mane se skul-re pɔḍh-ɔnti
   my child-plural that school-in read
   My children study in that school
7. lok-e/lokɔ-mane kheḷɔ dekhiba-ku as-ichɔnti
   people-plural play seeing-to come-have
   People have come to see the games.
8. e ṭoka-e/ṭoka-mane amɔ ghɔɲɔ pakhɔre rɔh-ɔnti
   these boy-plural our house near stay
   These boys stay near our house.

   The –e plural marker occurs only with some human nouns and has almost ceased to be productive. The –mane plural is productive and can occur with all animate nouns,

Ex.

9. debɔta-mane swɔrgɔ-re rɔh-ɔnti
   god-plural heaven-in stay
   The gods live in heaven
10. e osɔdɔ-re pokɔ-mane mɔri-jibe
    this medicine-in worm-plural die will
    The bugs will die with this medicine

The animate plural markers –e and –mane can be substituted with –guṛa plural marker which normally occurs with inanimate nouns, when negative disposition of the speaker is intended. But, since the guṛ-plural can take all the four markers –i/-a, -e and -kɔ , there is considerable over lapping in meaning between them,

Ex.

11. pila-mane kheḷ-uchɔnti
    child-plural play-are
    Children are playing
12. pila-guṛi-e kheḷ-uchɔnti
    child-plural-indef. play-are
    Children are playing (with feeling)
13. pila-guṛa-e kheḷ-uchɔnti
    child-plural-indefi. play-are
    Children are playing (without feeling)
14. pila-guṛi-kɔ kheḷ-uchɔnti
    child-plural-defi. play-are
    The children are playing(with feeling)
15. pila-guṛa-kɔ kheḷ-uchɔnti
    child-plural-defi. play –are
    The children are playing(without feeling)

However, with inanimate nouns with which –mane would not normally occur, only –guṛa and its variants occur.

Ex.

16.oda kagɔjɔ-guṛi-e aṇ-ichɔ

wet paper-plural-indefi. bring-have

You have brought wet papers (with feeling)

17.oda kagɔjɔ-guṛa-e~guṛe aṇ-ichɔ

wet paper-plural-indefi. bring-have

You have brought the wet papers (without feeling)

18.oda kagɔjɔ-guṛi-kɔ aṇ-ichɔ

wet paper-plural-defi. bring-have

You have brought the wet papers (with feeling)

19.oda kagɔjɔ-guṛa-kɔ aṇ-ichɔ

wet paper-plural-defi. bring-have

You have brought the wet papers (without feeling)

Unlike –guṛi/-guṛa, -mane is a two-stem morpheme, the direct and oblique. The direct form -mane occurs only in nominative case and the oblique – manɔ before all other cases.

The plural –manɔ can also occur after –ṭa, where nouns are to be taken as single units.

20. jhiɔ-ṭi-mane bhɔlɔ nac-uchɔnti

girl –plural good dance-are

The girls(every individual) are dancing well.

21.ki sundɔr ghɔrɔ-ṭi-manɔ toḷ-ichɔnti

what beautiful house-plural build-have

What beautiful houses (every unit) they have built

A number of words like, ɔnek-many, bɔhut-much, kichi-some, sɔbu-all, ɔdhikaṁsɔ-most, ketekɔ - some, etc. and the higher numerals which signify plurality, if they occur before the noun, then the noun in question does not take a plural marker,

Ex.

22. ɔnek pila seṭhi poḍh-uchɔnti

many child there study-are

Many children are studying there.

23.e gã:-rɔ ɔdhikaṅsɔ lokɔ rogi

this village-of most person sick

Most persons of this village are sick.

24. mũ cari-ṭa gai kiṇ-ichi

I four-classi. cow buy-have

I have bought four cows.

In Oriya, the plurality also can be expressed by reduplicating the noun or its adjectives,

Ex.

25. mũ ghɔrɔ ghɔrɔ khoj-ili

I house house search-did

I searched the houses/house by house.

26. mɔte bɔṛɔ bɔṛɔ phɔḷɔ diɔ

me-to big big fruit-plural give

Give me the large fruits

However, when the plurality is formed by reduplicating the adjective, the noun may also take the plural marker optionally,

27. mɔte bɔṛɔ bɔṛɔ phɔḷɔ-guṛi-kɔ diɔ

me-to big big fruit-plural give

Give me the large fruits(definite)

Plurality is also the marker of respect in Oriya. To show respect, some singular human nouns are marked with –e and the verb is pluralized,

Ex.

28.masṭr-e aji as-ibe nahĩ

teacher-respect today come-will not

The teacher will not come today.

29.das-e apɔṇɔ-ṅkɔ kɔtha kɔh-uthile

Das-respect your matter speak-was

Mr.Das was talking about your matter.

Compare it with,

30.dasɔ apɔṇɔ-ṅkɔ kɔtha kɔh-uthila

das your matter speak-was

Das was talking about your matter (without respect)

But the –e marker for respect is some what out-dated and used restrictedly in sophisticated company, unless the person 'Das' is some what old-fashioned or a 'traditional' type. Otherwise, he will be addressed as 'das-babu', or 'misṭɔr das'.

There are also a few words like gɔṇɔ, sɔmuhɔ, brundɔ, rasi, bɔrgɔ, raji, etc. which are directly borrowed from Sanskrit, may function as plural markers in non-colloquial variety only.

Ex.

31.mũ sudhi-brundɔ- ṅku nɔmɔskarɔ joṇa-uchi

I gentlemen-to salute convey-am

I am saluting the distinguished audience.

32.bɔndhu-gɔṇɔ, mo:rɔ dosɔ marjɔna kɔrɔ

friend-plural, my mistake forgive do

Friends, please forgive my mistakes.

The personal pronouns are also normally pluralized by adding –mane.

Ex.	singular	plural
1st person	mũ	ame-mane/ambhe-mane/ame
2nd person	tu/tume/apɔn̤ɔ	tume-mane/tumbhe-mane/ apɔn̤ɔ- mane
3rd person	se/sie-he	se/sei – mane
	e/ie-this man	e/ei-mane
	kie-who	keũ/kou-mane
	je/jie-relative pronoun	jeũ/jou-mane

The 3rd person singular pronouns which may also function as demonstrative pronouns and represent inanimate nouns take plural -gu̱rakɔ/-gu̱rikɔ and not –mane,

Ex.

33.e-gu̱ri-kɔ mi̱tha ambɔ

this –plural sweet mango

These are sweet mangoes.

34.keũ/kou-gu̱rikɔ tume bach-ichɔ

which-plural you select-have

Which ones have you selected?

The personal pronouns may also take -gu̱rakɔ in a derogatory sense.

Ex.

35.ame-gu̱rakɔ corɔ

we-plural thief

We are thieves

36.tume-guṛakɔ besi dekha-i heuchɔ

you-plural too much show-are

You(pl.) are showing off too much.

4.1.3

The gender in Oriya is a purely lexical phenomenon without any grammatical implication. In the lexical level, gender suffixes are added to the unmarked male nouns to make them feminine. Lexically, it is a two-term system: masculine and feminine, in fact more correctly, male and female. However, if we take the pronominal reference to the nouns, as a gender-demarcating feature, the nouns fall into two major categories, i.e., animate and inanimate. The third type of gender is also lexical. This restricted system is also a two-term system: large and small. Thus, there are three types of gender in Oriya and all the types only partly demarcate the lexicon. These types are:

(i) masculine(male) and feminine (female)

(ii) animate and inanimate

(iii)large and small.

Since, it is already said that gender in Oriya is a purely lexical phenomenon, we may examine the nature of Oriya vocabulary before we proceed further. Traditionally, the Oriya lexicon is divided into four classes of words from the point of their etymology. These are, in native terms,

1. tɔschɔmɔ- the unassimilated loan vocabulary from Sanskrit
2. tɔdbhɔbɔ - the historically derived words from Sanskrit
3. desɔjɔ- indigenously coined words or words which have come from local contact languages like Dravidian and Munda.

4. jabɔnikɔ/bɔidesikɔ - foreign words from Arabic and Persian or English and other European languages.

On the basis of this classification, the gender markers fall into two types: the tɔschɔmɔ words take markers as in Sanskrit and the rest take Oriya markers. Except for a few words like raṇḍɔ-widow/ raṇḍ-ua – widower, the masculine form is un-marked and the feminine is formed on it. In a few cases also, the adjective forms preceding the nouns may show gender agreement like, buddhiman baḷɔkɔ-wise boy: buddhimɔti baḷika –wise girl, buḍha sɔṇḍhɔ-old bull, buḍhi gai-old cow, etc. But such grammatical agreement is optional and a speaker may freely use the masculine form like, buddhiman baḷika, buḍha gai, etc., without any obligatory gender agreement. There are also a few feminine markers which are common to both Sanskrit and Oriya words. The male/female distinction is limited only to animate nouns.

(i) The following is a list of the feminine markers:

1. male-i

Most of the feminine words of all origins are formed under this process. The base-words are of two types: ɔ-ending and a-ending:

(a) final - ɔ → i

ɔsurɔ- ɔsuri-demon

putrɔ- putri – son

gɔdhɔ - gɔdhi – donkey

hɔriṇɔ - hɔriṇi – deer

Other words of this process are: kiṅkɔrɔ - servant, kisorɔ- youth, kumarɔ - bachelor, kɔpotɔ - dove, kinnɔrɔ , tɔruṇɔ, dasɔ, dutɔ, debɔ, iswɔrɔ, nagɔrɔ, nɔrtɔkɔ, ṇisacɔrɔ, nirlɔjɔ, pagɔḷɔ, patrɔ, pitamɔhɔ, pisacɔ, bandhɔbɔ, bɔisnɔbɔ, brahmɔṇɔ, bhɔirɔbɔ, bhrɔmɔrɔ, mɔkɔrɔ,

mɔyurɔ, mɔrkɔṭɔ, matamɔhɔ, chatrɔ, rakhyɔsɔ, sɔṅkɔrɔ, sɔbɔrɔ, sɔhodɔrɔ, siṅhɔ, sukumarɔ, sundɔrɔ, hɔṅsɔ, etc. Two words of this structure are formed slightly differently, i.e., maṅkɔṛɔ-maṅkuṛi – monkey, and nɔrɔ - nari – man

(b) final –a→ i

kutta - kutti - dog

kapta- kapti- dove

kuja- kuji- hunch-back

khɔna- khɔni-stutterer,

Other words of this process are: ola, kɔḷihuṛa, geṛa, gora, ghoṛa, choṭa, cɔgɔla, ṭera, ṭoka, ṭhura, ḍɔhɔra, ḍahaṇa, ḍhola, thobɔra, debɔta, lajɔkuḷa, pɔtɔḷa, peṭa, bɔgula, buḍha, boba, mɔunɔmuhã, mutura, meṇḍha, moṭa, rɔṅkuṇa, sɔkha, huṇḍa, leṅgeṛa, etc. In some cases, the feminine is formed slightly differently, i.e., lɔṅgɔḷa-lɔṅguḷi-naked. Other exceptions are the words in which the initial syllble ɔ vowel is changed into a-

Ex.

kɔṇa – kaṇi- one-eyed

jɔṛa - jaṛi- dumb

bhɔṇɔja – bhaṇiji –sister's son

mɔusa – mausi – maternal uncle

lɔṇḍa - laṇḍi– shaven head

sɔḷa - saḷi – wife's brother, etc.

(c) The third process is also a sub-class of this change, final –ua → oi

Ex.

pakua- pakoi – toothless

paṭhua - paṭhoi – educated

Other words belonging to this process are: kaṇḍua, cɔkua, ṭhapua, badua, mɔṭhua, maṛua, bedhua, jadua, etc.

2. male – ni

The following –i ending masculine nouns take the –ni marker when feminine:

Ex.

bidesi – bidesini- foreigner

sɔṅgi-sɔṅgini - friend

dukhi – dukhini- poor

papi – papini- sinner

Other words which are subjected to the same process are: sɔhɔ-paṭhi, ɔbhimani, ɔpɔradhi, kuhuki, mayabi, pɔrikhyarthi, patɔki, prɔṇɔyi, prɔtidwɔndwi, prɔtibesi, tɔpɔswi, bɔnɔbasi, bɔndi, prɔbasi, prarthi, bibeki, biḷasi, medhabi, jogi, sɔtyɔbadi, sɔnyasi, sɔhɔjogi, suhagi, hɔtɔbhagi, hɔsti, etc.

A few words although are not i – ending also take a variant –ini of this marker:

Ex

ɔbhaga - ɔbhagini – unfortunate

ɔnathɔ -ɔnathini – orphan

pretɔ - pretini – spirit, etc.

3. male – ṇi

(a) the following –a and –i ending masculine nouns take the –ṇi suffix:

Ex. oṛia - oṛiaṇi – Oriya

brɔhma - brɔhmaṇi – Brahma

mɔphɔsɔlia - mɔphɔsɔliaṇi – villager

Other words of this process are: guṛia, teleṅga, noḷia, baya, beṭhia,

behera, sɔrɔghɔria, bhitiria, mɔjhiã, mulia, desua, etc. One exception is, dhoba – washerman, which becomes, dhobɔṇi

The –i ending nouns are:

Ex.

pujari – pujariṇi – priest

ɔtyacari - ɔtyacariṇi – oppressor

Other words of this process are: ɔdhikari, bidrohi, mɔntri, brɔtɔ-cari, rogi, swecchacari, etc.

A few -ɔ and –u ending nouns also fall into this class:

Ex.

corɔ - corɔṇi – thief

bhikhyu – bhikhyuṇi – mendicant, etc.

(b) A variant –aṇi is suffixed to the following male words,

Ex.

final i → aṇi

haṛi - haṛiaṇi –a man of Haṛi caste

randhuṇi - randhuṇiaṇi –cook

final u → aṇi

babu - bubuaṇi - gentleman

(c) In the following words -aṇi is also suffixed but the final vowel is dropped,

Ex. final ɔ → aṇi

sa:ntɔ - sa:ntaṇi – master

ḍaktɔrɔ - ḍaktɔraṇi – physician

bauri - bauraṇi - a man of Bauri caste

(d) In the following words which end with ɔ, a and i, the final

vowel is dropped and -uṇi is suffixed.

Ex. final ɔ → uṇi

ɔndhɔ - ɔndhuṇi – blind

nagɔ - naguṇi – cobra

Other words of this process are, ɔsurɔ, kɔndhɔ, kɔmarɔ, kalɔ, kumbharɔ, keuṭɔ, gɔuṛɔ, gopaḷɔ, cɔṇḍaḷɔ, cɔmarɔ, baghɔ, rɔṅkɔ, sɔṅgatɔ, etc.

final a → uṇi

keḷa - keḷuṇi – a man of Keḷa caste

kɔṇḍɔra - kɔṇḍurṇi – a man of Kaṇḍara caste

final i → uṇi

teli - teluṇi - a man of Teli caste

nati - natuṇi – grandson

Other words of this process are, docari, bɔjari, bɔṅgaḷi, bhɔṇḍari, bhikari, hati, etc.

(e) In the following words, which end with - ɔ or –a, the final vowel is dropped and -iaṇi is suffixed.

Ex.final ɔ, a → iaṇi

pɔṇḍitɔ - pɔṇḍitiaṇi – Pundit

bamhuṇɔ - bamhuṇiaṇi – Brahmin

pɔṇḍa - pɔṇḍiaṇi – priest

Other words of this process are, barikɔ, malikɔ, sɔrdarɔ, kɔrɔṇɔ, etc.

The rest of the gender markers mainly occur with Sanskrit loans or tɔschɔmɔ words,

4. male – a

The final vowel of the male word is substituted by – a

Ex. sisyɔ - sisya – desciple

nɔmɔsyɔ - nɔmɔsya – respectable

premikɔ - premika – lover

prauḍhɔ - prɔuḍha – adult

Other words of this process are, ɔnathɔ, atmiyɔ, kantɔ, tɔnɔyɔ,tɔnujɔ, duscɔritrɔ, dusṭɔ, nisɔhayɔ, pɔtitɔ, pɔricitɔ, papisṭhɔ, prɔthɔmɔ, prɔbiṇɔ, priyɔ, bɔyɔskɔ, bidhurɔ, bihinɔ, bhagyɔhinɔ, bharɔtiyɔ, bhrɔsṭɔ, jogyɔ, lɔjjitɔ, lanchitɔ, lɔjjasiḷɔ, nirasrɔyɔ, sibɔ, manɔniyɔ, sudrɔ, sɔṅgitɔgyɔ̃, sɔmmanɔniyɔ, sthaniyɔ, sambadikɔ, rɔsikɔ, sahityikɔ, etc

5. male –ika

The final -ɔkɔ segment of the male word is substitutd by –ika or internally changed to –ika,

Ex.

baḷɔkɔ - baḷika – boy

lekhɔkɔ - lekhika – writer

sɔmpadɔkɔ - sɔmpadika – editor

Other words of the same process are, biswasɔghatɔkɔ, paṭhɔkɔ, sikhyɔkɔ, sɔṅgrahɔkɔ, sɔncaḷɔkɔ, sadhɔkɔ, sebɔkɔ, nayɔkɔ, ɔnubadɔkɔ, pɔricarɔkɔ, pɔricaḷɔkɔ, pɔrikhyɔkɔ , etc.

6. male – ri

The final –a is substituted by –ri

Ex.

neta – netri – leader

bɔkta - bɔktri – speaker

Other words of the same process are, ɔbhineta, ɔdhiṣṭhata, data, etc.

7. male - bɔti

If the male words have a –ban suffix, it is substituted with - bɔti,

Ex.

guṇɔban - guṇɔbɔti – accomplished

dɔyaban - dɔyabɔti – kind

Other words of the same process are, bhɔgɔban, bhagyɔban, dhɔnɔban, punyɔban, etc.

8. male - mɔti

If the male words have a –man suffix, it is substituted with mɔti,

Ex.

buddhiman - buddhimɔti – intelligent

sriman - srimɔti - mister

Other words of the same process are, murtiman, sɔktiman, etc.

9. male - bɔnti

If the male words have a -bɔntɔ or -mɔntɔ suffix, it is substituted with - bɔnti,

Ex

guṇɔbɔntɔ - guṇɔbɔnti – accomplished

dhɔnɔbɔntɔ - dhɔnɔbɔnti – rich

dhɔrmɔbɔntɔ - dhɔrmɔbɔnti – pious, etc.

Besides these pairs, there are a few more both of Sanskrit and indigenous origin which form the feminine forms differently. These are,

pɔti - pɔtni – husband

bɔndhu - bandhɔbi – friend (the male form is perhaps, bandhɔbɔ)

bidwan – bidusi – learned

bɔgɔ - bɔguli – crane (the male form is perhaps, bɔgula)

beṅgɔ - beṅguli – frog

jubɔkɔ - jubɔti – youth

raja - raṇi – king(the male form is perhaps raṇɔ)

sɔmraṭ - samragyĩ – emporer

sadhu – sadhwi – sage

sikhyɔkɔ - sikhyɔyɔtri – teacher

kɔbi - kɔbɔyɔtri – poet, etc.

Thus, there are mainly 9 morphological processes by which the feminine forms are formed,

1. male – i : mɔyurɔ - mɔyuri – pea-cock
2. male – ni : bidesi – bidesini – foreigner
3. male - ṇi : oṛia - oṛiaṇi – Oriya man
4. male – a : sisyɔ - sisya – student
5. male –ika : baḷɔkɔ - baḷika – boy
6. male –ri : ɔbhinenta - ɔbhinetri – actor
7. male - bɔti : bhagyɔban - bhagyɔbɔti – lucky
8. male - mɔti : sriman - srimɔti – mister
9. male - bɔnti : dhɔrmɔbɔntɔ - dhɔrmɔbɔnti – pious.

Besides these processes, there are two other devices by which the male –female distinction is made, i.e., by supplation and by adding adjectives like, ɔṇḍira – mai – male – female,

Ex.

ɔɳḍira kukurɔ - mai kukurɔ - dog

ɔɳḍira hati – mai hati – elephant

ɔɳḍira pokɔ - mai pokɔ - worm

ɔɳḍira phulɔ - mai phulɔ - flower, etc.

The second process is supplative,

Ex.

ɔja –ai – grand father – grand mother

bhai - bhaujɔ - brother – brother's wife

mamu – maĩ– uncle – aunt (maternal)

sɔnḍhɔ - gai – bull – cow

gɔnja - peṇṭhi – cock – hen

pɔti - pɔtni – husband –wife

raja - raṇi – king – queen, etc.

(ii) The second type of gender in Oriya is determined by pronominal–reference. This gender is also a two – term system of animate and inanimate. Consider these sentences,

1. e citrɔ- ṭi raja-ṅkɔ-rɔ , se sonpur-rɔ raja thile
   this picture king –of, he sonpur – of king was
   This picture is of the king, he was the king of Sonepur.
2. e jhiɔ nã reba, se skul-re poḍhe
   this girl name reba, she school-in study
   The name of this girl is Reba, she studies in the school
3. e gai-ṭi mo:rɔ , se poṛia-re cɔr-uchi
   this cow mine, she field-in graze-is
   This cow is mine, it is grazing in the field

4. e saikel - ṭi nua, eha mo bhai-ṅkɔ rɔ

   this cycle new, this my brother-of

   This cycle is new, it is my brother's

5. surjyɔ amɔ- ṭharu bɔhu durɔ- re, tɔthapi cha amɔ- ku alokɔ die.

   sun us-from very far-at, yet it us-to light gives

   The sun is very far from us, yet it gives us light.(Sun as a physical phenomenon).

6. surjyɔ amɔ- ṭharu bɔhu durɔ-re, tɔthapi se amɔ-ku alokɔ diɔ-nti. sun us-from very far-at, yet he us-to light gives

   The sun is very far from us, yet he gives us light (Sun is deified)

In the 3rd person, e, se are the pronouns which refer to the animate nouns, while eha and taha refer to inanimate nouns. Thus, the nouns are covertly referred by the pronouns as animate and inanimate. This system only complements the first gender system of male/female division. The latter division is only a part of the animate category.

(iii)The third type of gender is a part of the inanimate category. A few inanimate nouns are marked for size, i.e., large and small,

Ex.

aṅkuṛa - aṅkuṛi –hook (large-small)

kanthɔ - kanthi - wall

kaṭhɔ - kaṭhi – wood

kumpa – kumpi – container

koṭha - koṭhi – building

khuṇṭɔ - khuṇti – pillar

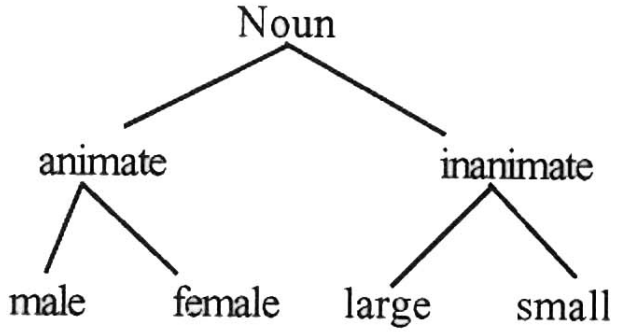
ḍɔṅka - ḍɔṅki – ladle

ghɔṛa - ghɔṛi – earthen jug

kula – kulei – winnowing basket

khɔṭɔ - khɔṭuḷi – wooden bed, etc.

Thus, the taxonomy of the Oriya gender system may be shown as,



None of these categories except animate/inanimate covers the whole vocabulary. The lower categories are processes limited to a few words only, not exceeding more than a few hundred items. All the three categorizations are purely lexical without any grammatical function, except perhaps the animate/inanimate.

4.1.4

From the point of case markers, the nouns fall into two types: single-stem nouns and two-stem nouns. All nouns other than the pronouns are single-stem forms. The pronouns are two-stem nouns, direct and oblique. The pronouns are,

direct (nominative)	oblique (before other cases)
ie/ye/e	ya: this person (proximate)
	yaṅkɔ this person(honorific/plural)
sie/se	ta: that person (remote)
	taṅkɔ that person (honorific)

kie	kaha	interrogative pronoun
jie	jaha	relative pronoun

These pronouns also take plural marker – mane and guṛie/guṛae, and guṛikɔ/guṛakɔ in nominative and their oblique forms - manɔ and guṛi/guṛa, respectively before other case endings,

Ex.

e-mane e-manɔṅkɔ (proximate plural)

se-mane se-manɔṅkɔ (remote plural)

keũ-mane keũ- manɔṅkɔ (interrogative plural)

jeũ-mane jeũ- manɔṅkɔ (relative plural)

also,

e-guṛikɔ/e-guṛakɔ

se-guṛikɔ /se-guṛakɔ

keũ-guṛikɔ /keũ-guṛakɔ

jeũ-guṛikɔ /jeũ-guṛakɔ

It may be loosely said that -mane plural occurs with animate nouns and guṛikɔ /guṛakɔ with inanimate nouns. But, there is no hard and fast rule about this. -guṛikɔ /guṛakɔ may occur with animate nouns also. In that case, -guṛikɔ with animate nouns is not different from – mane, while guṛakɔ shows negative or lack of feeling. However, although guṛi/guṛa may occur with animate nouns, -mane could hardly occur with inanimate nouns. Therefore, there exists a very limited contrast between these plural markers. Examples like, e pɔṛia-re pila-mane kheḷɔnti/pila-guṛie kheḷɔnti are almost same, while pila-guṛae~guṛe kheḷɔnti, is not, as the -guṛa forms with animate nouns show definite negative disposition of the speaker.

Other than these personal pronouns, there are two non-person pronouns, eha-this and taha-that. These two forms are same as other

inanimate nouns, i.e, single-stem and take case markers directly. They too do not take any plural marker,

Ex

ie mo:rɔ bhai, ya:rɔ duiṭi kɔlɔm ɔchi

this my brother, his two pen has

This person is my brother, he has two pens.

But, compare it with,

eha mo:rɔ saikel, eha-rɔ duiṭi cɔkɔ ɔchi

this(non-person) my cycle, it two wheel has

This is my cycle, it has two wheels.

The direct forms for all pronouns occur in nominative case and the oblique forms before all other cases. The oblique form is also the form for genitive case, and takes - rɔ as an additional marker in isolation,

1. ei-ṭa mo ghɔrɔ

   this my house

   This is my house.

2. ei ghɔrɔ- ṭa mo:rɔ

   this house mine

   This house is mine

3. e-guṛikɔ amɔ- manɔ- ṅkɔ bɔhi

   these our book

   These are our books

4.e bɔhi-guṛikɔ amɔ-manɔ-ṅkɔrɔ

   these books ours

   These books are ours.

5. amɔ /amɔ- manɔ- ṅkɔ ghɔrɔ tumɔ- manɔ-ṅkɔ /tumɔ- manɔ-

ṅkɔ-rɔ ghɔrɔ- ṭharu durɔre

our house your house-from far

Our house is far from your house

The nouns, when take case suffixes may or may not occur with the article,

Ex.

1. e bɔhi-re barɔ prusṭha ɔchi

   this book-in twelve pages has

   This book has twelve pages.

2. e bɔhi-ṭi-re barɔ prusṭha ɔchi

   this book-defi.-in twelve page has

   This book has twelve pages.

The article however, is added to the numeral, if the numerals occur before the noun.

3. dui-ṭi/ṭa bɔhi-re barɔ-ṭi/ṭa kɔri prusṭha ɔchi

   two-defi. book-in twelve each page has

   The two books have twelve pages each.

The same is true for other cases also, where the noun is not a pronoun,

4. calɔ, ghɔrɔ-ku jiba

   come, home-to go

   Come, let us go home.

5. calɔ, ghɔrɔ-ṭa-ku jiba

   come, house-article-to go

   Come, let us go to the house.

There are six cases in Oriya: nominative, accusative, genitive,

instrumental, ablative and locative. The vocative may also be included in this list. But, it has no grammatical function in the sentence, except that it generally occurs in the beginning of the sentence as a separate unit marked with the vocative particles like, he, are, re, alo, abe, kio, etc.,

Ex.

6. he bɔndhu, mũ tumɔri kɔtha bhab-uthili
   oh friend, I you about think-was
   Oh friend, I was thinking about you (emphasis)
7. alo jhiɔ , aste aste cal
   hei girl, slowly walk
   Hei girl, walk slowly

4.1.4.1

The case markers for the six cases are,

Nominative - unmarked

- e, -mane (in plural)

Accusative - Ø, -ku, -ki, -te

- ṅku, manɔ-ṅku (in plural, honorific)

Genitive - -rɔ

- ṅkɔ, -ṅki, -ṅkɔrɔ, manɔ-ṅkɔ, manɔ-ṅkɔrɔ (in plural, honorific)

Instrumental- -re, -dwara, -dei, -thire

- guṛikɔ-re, ṅkɔ- dwara/dei (in plural)

Ablative - -ru, -u, -ṭharu/-ṭhu, -thiru

- ṅkɔ- ṭharu/-ṅkɔ- ṭhu, manɔ- ṅkɔ- ṭharu/-ṭhu (in plural, honorific)

Locative - -re, -ṭhi, -ṭhare, -thire

- ṅkɔṭhi/ - ṭhare, manɔ- ṅkɔ- ṭhi/-ṭhare (in plural, honorific)

4.1.4.2

Nominative is unmarked in Oriya. Some grammarians show -ṭi/ -ṭa as case marker for nominative singular. But, this is not correct as -ṭi/-ṭa also occur with other cases,

Ex.

1. mo ghɔrɔ- ṭa-rɔ cɔuṛa kɔm
   my house-of width less
   The width of my house is less.
2. mũ e-thɔrɔ ghɔrɔ-ṭa-ku bikri kɔri-debi
   I now house-to sell will
   Now, this time I will sell off the house.

A noun, pronoun or a verbal noun occur in nominative when it functions as the subject in a sentence or occurs in the predicative complement position,

Ex.

3. sikhyɔkɔ eha lekh-ichɔnti
   teacher this write-has
   The teacher has written this
4. se ambhɔ-manɔ-ṅkɔ-rɔ chatrɔ
   he our student
   He is our student
5. taṅkɔ hɔsiba bɔṛɔ sundɔrɔ
   his laughing very pleasing
   His laugh is very beautiful

However, in case of plural nouns and pronouns which take –e suffix like, am-e –we, tum-e – you, se-man-e – they, mɔṇisɔ man-e-men, hati-man -e – elephants, etc. the final –e also functions as a marker for nominative case, and before other case markers the oblique - manɔ occurs,

6. e jɔṅgɔl-re baghɔ-man-e rɔhɔnti
   this jungle-in tigers live
   Tigers live in this forest
7. e jɔṅgɔl-re baghɔ-manɔ-ṅku mariba mɔna
   this jungle-in tiger-s-to killing forbidden
   It is forbidden to kill tigers in this forest.
8. e jɔṅgɔl-re baghɔ- manɔ- ṅkɔ- ṭhu bɔṛɔ jɔntu nahanti
   this jungle-in tiger-s-from large animal not
   There are no bigger animal than tigers in this forest.
9. se-man-e oṛia
   they Oriya
   They are Oriyas
10. se-manɔ- ṅkɔrɔ ṭhikɔṇa kɔṇ
    their address what
    What is their address?
11. tume se-manɔ-ṅkɔ-ṭhu pɔisa pa-ibɔ
    you them-from money get-will
    You will receive money from them.

Similarly, the archaic plural marker –e is also dropped before all cases other than the nominative,

12. pɔṛia-re pila-e/pil-e kheḷ-uchɔnti
    field-in child-plural play-are

The children are playing in the field

13.pila-ṅku kha-iba-ku ḍakɔ

children-to eating-to call

Call the children to eat

14. eha pila-ṅkɔ- dwara kɔra-jibɔ

this children-by get done-will

This will be done by the children

In case of –mane and -guṛie plurals final-e occurs only in nominative case. Before other cases, the oblique forms -manɔ and -guṛi/ -guṛa occur,

In nominative,

15.pila-man-e kheḷ-uchɔnti

child-plural play-are

Children are playing

16.pila-guṛi-e kheḷ-uchɔnti

child-plural play-are

Children are playing

In other cases,

17.pila-manɔ-ṅku ḍakɔ

child-plural-to call

Call the children.

18.pila-guṛi-ṅkɔ-rɔ so-iba paĩ byɔbɔstha kɔrɔ

child-plural-of sleeping for arrangement make

Make arrangements for children's sleeping

4.1.4.3.

The accusative case marker for singular nouns is – ku. It has three allomorphs, -ki, -te and Ø. Normally, the object in a sentence is marked with this morpheme,

(i) –ku

It occurs with animate nouns and pronouns only, when used as objects of transitive verbs,

Ex.

1. mũ ramɔ-ku kɔh-ili
   I Rama-to say-did
   I said to Rama.
2. sapɔ-ku chũɔ nahĩ
   snake-to touch not
   Do not touch the snake
3. bilei musa-ku dhɔr-ichi
   cat mouse-to catch-has
   Cat was caught the mouse

(ii) –ki

This phonologically conditioned variant occurs after nouns ending in –i,

Ex.

1. mũ hɔri-ki kɔh-ili
   I Hari-to say-did
   I said to Hari
2. hati-ki chũɔ nahĩ
   elephant-to touch not

Do not touch the elephant.

(iii) –te

This morphologically conditioned variant occurs only after 1st person singular and 2nd person singular, i.e., after oblique forms mo- and to-, respectively,

Ex.

1. tumɔ kɔlɔm-ṭa mo-te di-ɔ
   your pen me-to give
   Give me your pen
2. mũ to-te cinh-e
   I you-to know
   I know you.

Also note that, before this marker –te, mo- and to- vary with mɔ and tɔ , respectively.

(iv) – Ø

Normally, the inanimate nouns take zero marker in accusative case,

Ex.

1. au thɔr-e cauḷɔ-ṭa dhuɔ
   once more rice wash
   Wash the rice once more
2. mo ciṭhi-guṛi ciɾɔ nahĩ
   my letter-plural tear not
   Do not tear my letters
3. mũ ei suna mudi kiṇ-ibi
   I this gold ring buy-will

I will buy this gold ring.

It should be noted that, the accusative morpheme –ku with its allomorphs including the zero, are not very stable in their occurance. In many cases, the –ku may be dropped after animate objects and zero may be substituted by –ku after inanimate objects. It has not been possible to frame hard rules to predict their occurance.

Consider these examples,

1. raja ghoṛa khoj-uchɔnti

   king horse search-is

   King is looking for horse

   This example is quite normal, and so is the object noun with the accusative marker –ku,

2. raja ghoṛa-ku khoj-uchɔnti

   Apparently, both the sentences are correct and the difference in meaning between these sentences is very subtle. Most native speakers of the language will agree that the 1st sentence will mean-'The king is looking for a horse' 'in general', while the 2nd sentence will mean 'the king is looking for a horse 'in particular.' In a similar sense, consider these sentences,

3. mũ coro dhɔr-ichi

   I have caught (some) thief.

4. mũ coro-ku dhɔr-ichi

   I have caught (the one, who is) the thief.

5. mũ cauḷo dho-uchi

   I am washing rice (normal)

6. mũ cauḷo-ku dho-uchi

   I am washing rice (with some purpose/emphasis)

The use of –ku is also to be noted in many cases, where the noun is not an object and the verb is not necessarily a transitive verb,

Ex. where the noun is a 'Location',

1. aji mũ gã:-ku ja-uchi
   today I village-to go-am
   Today, I am going to the village.
2. se paṇi-ki ḍɔr-e
   he water-to afraid
   He is afraid of water

(Note- Even in case of a 'destination' , the –ku marker may also be optional, unless the destination is emphasized for some purpose,

Ex. mũ puri ja-uchi
   I Puri go-am
   I am going to Puri)

Ex. when the noun stands for 'time'

1. se rati-ki as-ibe
   he night-at come-will
   He will come at night.
2. se dinɔ-ku dui ṭoṅka pa-e
   he day-per two rupee get
   He gets two rupees per day

Ex. when the noun is in a set phrase, like,

1. dɔḷɔ-ku dɔḷɔ lokɔ jatra-ru pher-uchɔnti
   group after group people fair-from return –are
   Groups after group of people are returning from fair.
2. beḷɔ-ku beḷɔ khɔra ṭaṇɔ he-uchi

from time to time sun strong be

As the time progresses, sun is getting hotter

Ex. when the noun is a verbal noun,

1. se randhiba-ku pɔsɔnd kɔr-ɔnti

he cook-to like

He likes to cook

In the case of plural nouns, the accusative marker is –ṅku, -ṅki, manɔ-ṅku, guṛa-ṅku and guṛi-ṅku. The –ṅku signifies both plural and honorific. When a singular noun takes a plural case marker, it becomes honorific,

Ex

1. mũ ta-ṅku kɔh-ili

I him tell-did

I told him(honorific singular)/them

2. se kaha-ṅku de-be

he whom give-will

Whom(hon.singular)/(plural) will he give?

In most cases however, kaha-, the oblique form of kie-who? does not take –ṅku,but does with –ku only for singular, plural and honorific.

3. mũ kaha-ku de-bi

I whom-to give-will

Whom (singular, plural, honorific) shoud I give?

Like the singular, the allomorph – ṅki occurs only after i-ending nouns,

Ex.

1. hati-ṅki goṛa-ɔ nahĩ

elephant-to chase not

Do not chase elephants.

Nouns with oblique plural markers -manɔ and -guṛi/-guṛa take –ṅku/-ṅki as accusative markers.

Ex.

1. mũ chatrɔ-manɔ-ṅku pɔrikhya kɔr-ibi

   I student-plural-to examine do-will

   I will examine the students

2. jhiɔ-guṛi-ṅki ghɔrɔ-ku pɔṭha-i di-ɔ

   girl-plural-to house-to send do

   Send the girls home

Inanimate plural nouns do not take –ṅku, but only –ku. As said earlier, they may not take any case marker at all.

Ex.

3. bɔhi-guṛa-ku sɔja-i kɔr-i rɔkh-ɔ

   book-plural-to arrange keep

   Keep the books arranged

   Or,

4. bɔhi-guṛakɔ /guṛikɔ sɔja-i kɔr-i rɔkh-ɔ (without case marker)

   Or,

5. bɔhi-guṛi sɔja-i kɔr-i rɔkh-ɔ (without case marker)

4.1.4.4

The genitive is adjectival in function and is realized as -rɔ in singular and as -ṅkɔ /-ṅkɔ-rɔ in plural. The noun in genitive case is always in collocation with other nouns and generally means 'possession'.

The oblique base of the pronouns serves as the base for all other cases and functions as genitive in isolation. The oblique bases for the pronouns are,

1st singular	-mo:
2nd singular	-to:
3rd singular	- ta:
1st plural	-amɔ
2nd plural	-tumɔ
3rd plural	-se-manɔ-ṅkɔ

Examples of the genitive pronouns in adjectival position,

1. ei-ṭa mo ghɔrɔ
   this my house
   This is my house
2. ei-ṭa ta ghɔrɔ
   this his house
   This is his house
3. ei-ṭa se-manɔ-ṅkɔ ghɔrɔ
   this their house
   This is their house, etc.

However, the oblique base may also take the case marker to emphasize the relation,

4. ei-ṭa mo:-rɔ ghɔrɔ (tumɔrɔ nuhẽ)
   this my house(your not)
   This is my house (not yours)
5. ei-ṭa ki sɔtɔ-re ta:-rɔ ghɔrɔ
   this what truly his house

Is this truly his house?

In the predicative position the full form of the genitive, i.e., with -rɔ is obligatory,

Ex.

1. e ghɔrɔ- ṭa mo:-rɔ
   this house mine
   This house is mine.
2. e ghɔrɔ se-manɔ-ṅkɔ-rɔ
   this house their –of
   This house is their's

In many constructions the genitive markers are totally dropped and the form functions like an adjective,

Ex.

1. e kheḷɔna gai-rɔ siṅgɔ-re tiari
   this toy cow-of horn-by made
   This toy is made of cow's horn
   Compare it with,
2. e kheḷɔna gai-siṅgɔ-re tiari
   This toy is made of cow's horn
3. pila-ṅkɔ kɔḷi-ru juddhɔ-rɔ arɔmbhɔ
   child-of quarrel-from war-of beginning
   War has started from children's feud
   The genitive forms occur in a number of phrases,

Ex.

1. in subject noun-phrase,
   sɔmɔyɔ-rɔ gɔti bɔṛɔ bicitrɔ

time-of course very strange

Strange is the course of time

2. in object noun-phrase,

buḍhi-ma:-rɔ gɔpɔ-ku kie bhɔlɔ nɔ pae

grand-mother-of tale-to who like not?

Who does not like grand-mother's tales?

3. in adjectival noun-phrase,

sɔkaḷɔ-rɔ bhrɔmɔṇɔ bɔrnɔna kɔrɔ

morning-of walk describe

Describe the morning-walk

4. in adverbial noun-phrase

bapɔ-rɔ pɔisa-re se bɔṛɔlokɔ ho-ichɔnti

father-of money-with he rich become

He has become rich with his father's money

4.1.4.5

The markers for the instrumental case are, -re, dwara and dei. As –re is also the marker for locative, there may be some confusion in identifying this marker, but where –re stands and can be substituted by dwara, it should be treated as instrumental,

Ex.

1 churi-re phɔḷɔ kaṭ-ɔ

knife-by fruit cut

Cut fruit with knife

Consider also this example,

2. churi-re phɔḷɔ khɔṇḍ-e lag-ichi

knife-in fruit piece-one stick-has

A piece of fruit has stuck to knife

In 5.2 –re stands for location and the case marker is locative, as opposed to 5.1, where –re is instrumental marker.

When –re can be substituted by –dwara, it must be treated as instrumental,

Ex.

1. se mɔ-te snehɔ-re (/dwara) kiṇ-i ne-le
   he me-to love-by buy had
   He won over me with love
2. bɔṛɔ jalɔ-re (/dwara) choṭɔ machɔ-ṅku dhɔr-i hu-e nahĩ
   big net-by small fish-to catch not
   With big net small fries are not caught

It is also the marker for adverbial phrase,

Ex.

3. aji rati-re se pher-ibe
   today night-in he return-will
   He will return tonight
4. mũ bɔhu kɔsṭɔ-re paṭhɔ pɔḍh-ichi
   I great difficulty-with study-have
   I have studied with great difficulty

More examples of instrumental case,

1. mo hatɔ-re e kamɔ he-bɔ nahĩ
   my hand-by this work be not
   This work cannot be done by me
2. ame bhokɔ-re ɔdhirɔ ho-i pɔṛ-iluṇi
   we hunger-by impatient become-had

We have become impatient with hunger

Also, consider these sentences in which –re cannot be substituted by –dwara,

Ex.

1. se jati-re brahmɔṇɔ
   he caste-by Brahmin
   He is a Brahmin by caste
2. se bɔrsɔ- re thɔr-e gã:-ku as-ɔnti
   he year-in once village-to come
   He comes to village once a year
3. se bɔyɔsɔ- re mo:-ṭharu bɔṛɔ
   he age-by me-from old
   He is older to me by age

Further, note that –re cannot be used with the animate nouns or pronouns. The instrumental markers for these nouns are only dwara or dei,

Ex.

1. e bɔhi bɔigyanikɔ- manɔ- ṅkɔ dwara lekh-a ho-ichi
   this book scientists by written has
   This book has been written by scientists
2. kebɔḷɔ ta:-dei (dwara) e kamɔ he-bɔ
   only him-by this work be-will
   This work will be done only by him.

4.1.4.6

The marker for ablative case is –ru. But after animate nouns and pronouns –ru cannot be directly suffixed to the base, but only with the help of ṭha-, or thi-,

Ex.

1. se hɔri-ṭha-ru bɔṛɔ
   he Hari-from old
   He is older than Hari
2. mo:-thi-ru ta-ṅku kichi cauḷɔ di-ɔ
   mine-from him-to some rice give
   Give him some rice form mine

ṭha- and thi- mean 'place' and 'amount' respectively, and therefore the above examples literally mean that the noun is a place or some amount of goods of a given quantity. Other than the pronouns and the animate nouns, -ṭharu may occur after nouns which generally means some place or time, but that too is optional.

Ex

3. puri-ṭha-ru kɔṭɔk besi durɔ nuhẽ
   Puri-from Cuttack very far not
   Cuttack is not very far from Puri
   Also note that, it is quite possible to say,
4. puri-ru kɔṭɔk besi durɔ nuhẽ
   but, the 5.3 is more natural
   Similar is the case with the 'time' nouns,
5. ei jatra ei masɔ-ṭha-ru he-bɔ
   this fair this month-from be-will
   This fair will start from this month
   It is also quite possible to say without -ṭha in the same sense,
6. ei jatra ei masɔ-ru hebɔ

Compared to –ṭha, -thi is much more restricted in its occurence. However, with the animate nouns and the pronouns, the

occurrence of –thi like –ṭha is quite obligatory,

7. e-thi-ru se kichi ni-ɔntu
   this-from he some take
   Let him take some from this

-ṭharu has a shorter variant -ṭhu, which is more common in colloquial or rapid speech,

8. se mo:-ṭhu pɔisa pa-ibe
   he me-from money get-will
   He will get money form me
9. pila-ṅkɔ-ṭhu ciṭhi-ṭa ni-ɔ
   children-from letter take
   Take the letter from the children
10. sɔmudrɔ- ṭhu ame durɔ- re rɔh-u
    sea-from we distance-at stay
    We stay at a distance from the sea

In all other cases, -ru is the regular marker for ablative,

Ex.

1. hatɔ- ru khɔs-ile ɔṇɔ- hatɔ
   hand-from slip-if out control
   If it slips from the hand it might make an accident (a saying)
2. gɔchɔ- ru phulɔ tɔkɔ toḷ-ɔ
   tree-from flower all pick
   Pick all the flowers from tree
3. sɔmudrɔ-ru machɔ dhɔr-iba kɔsṭɔ
   sea-from fish catching difficult
   It is difficult to catch fish from the sea

Besides, there are a few high-frequency words like, ghɔrɔ-house, upɔrɔ - above, tɔḷɔ-below, baharɔ-exterior, bhitɔrɔ - interior, etc. which take only –u allomorph for this case,

i.e., ghɔrɔ u → ghɔru - from the house

tɔḷɔ u → tɔḷu – from below, etc.

However, this rule should not be over-generalized for all liquid-ending words, i.e., durɔ-ru – from a distance, churi-ru- from the knife, telɔ-ru – from the oil, etc. Also note that, -ṭha-ru may occur optionally with inanimate nouns. In such cases, ṭha- retains its literal meaning of 'place' or 'location'.

Ex.

1. gɔchɔ-ṭha-ru durɔ-re amɔ ghɔɪɔ

   tree-place-from distance-at our house

   Our house is at a distance from the tree.

   -ṭharu/ -ṭhu are also used in a 'comparative' frame,

Ex.

1. mo: - ṭharu/- ṭhu ramɔ buddhiman

   me-from Rama intelligent

   Rama is more intelligient than me.

2. aḷu – ṭharu / ṭhu ṭɔmaṭo dami

   potato – from tomato costly

   Tomato is costlier than potato.

4.1.4.7.

The marker for locative case are, -re and –e. But after the animate nouns and pronouns, -ṭhare /-ṭhi and –thire occur. As in ablative, ṭha – stands for 'place' and thi- for 'amount.

Ex.

1. haṇḍi-re bhatɔ ɔchi
   pot-in rice is
   There is rice in the pot.
2. gaṛi-re ɔnek lokɔ bɔs-ichɔnti
   car-in many people sit-have
   Many people have sat in the car.

Like ablative, a few high frequency words like, ghɔrɔ, upɔrɔ, tɔḷɔ, bhitɔrɔ, etc. take only –e.

Ex.

1. mũ chatɔ upɔr-e th-ili
   I roof above was
   I was on the roof.
2. se bhitɔr-e ɔch-ɔnti
   he inside is
   He is inside.

In case of animate nouns and pronouns -ṭha and -thi occur before –re,

Ex.

1. mo:- ṭhare / -ṭhi pɔisa nahĩ
   my- near money no
   I have no money.
2. e-thire goṛi mis –ichi
   this – in stone mix- have
   Stones have been mixed with this.

Other uses of the –re are,

3. sitɔ dinɔ-re bhɔlɔ pɔriba miḷ-e
   winter season-in good vegetables available
   Good vegetables are available in winter season.
4. mo:- rɔ ṭɔṅka –re prɔyojɔnɔ nahĩ
   mine money –in need not
   I have no need for noney.
5. e-ṭhare /-ṭhi rati –re bɔrsa hu-e
   here night-at rain be
   It rains here at night.
6. bhai bhai-re kɔḷi bhɔlɔ nuh-ẽ
   brothers- among quarrel good not
   Quarreling among brothers is not good.

7. se ɔnek bidya-re parɔṅgɔmɔ
   he many subject-in proficient.
   He is proficient in many subjects.
   In case of plurals, no change is made with the case marker-re,

Ex.

1. pokhɔri-guṛikɔ-re machɔ ɔch-ɔnti
   pond-plural-in fish are
   There are fish in the ponds.
2. gɔchɔ- guṛikɔ- re bɔhut phɔḷɔ dhɔr-ichi
   tree-plural-in many fruit hold-have
   Many fruits have come in the trees.

However, with the plural animate nouns and pronouns, -ṭha is added before the case marker as in singular.

3. amɔ-ṭha-re/-ṭhi pɔisa nahĩ
   we-with money not
   We have no money.
4. tumbhɔ- manɔ- ṅkɔ- ṭha-re/-ṭhi jaha ɔch-i, di-ɔ
   you-plural-with whatever have, give
   Give whatever you have.

4.1.4.8.

The following list shows morphemic systematization of the case markers,

Nominative - unmarked (singular)
- e, -mane (plural)
-guṛie/ -guṛae, -guṛikɔ/- guṛakɔ (plural)

Accusative -ku (singular)
- ṅku (plural, honorific)

Genitive -rɔ (singular)
-ṅkɔrɔ (plural, honorific)

Instrumental - dwara, -re

Ablative - -ru

Locative - -re.

An alternative analysis of the case markers is also possible, i.e. -ṅkɔ- may be segmented as an independent morpheme meaning plural and honorific, but too much atomization might prove counter-intuitive. Nevertheless, it would give a neater case system.

Nominative - unmarked

Accusative - ku

Genitive - rɔ

Instrumental – re, dwara

Ablative- - ru

Locative- - re.

4.2.

The pronouns are a close group of words which can substitute nouns and can take case markers. The pronouns fall into four sub-groups: personal, demonstrative, interrogative and relative.

4.2.1.

All personal pronouns are two-stem nouns,i.e. nominative and oblique. The two-stem personal pronouns are,

	nominative	oblique
1st. singular	-mũ	mo-
2nd. singular	-tu	to-
2nd. (familiar) singular	-tume	tumɔ-
2nd. (honorific) singular	-apɔṇɔ	apɔṇɔ-ṅkɔ
3rd. (remote) singular	-se/sie	ta-
3rd. (honorific) singular	-se/sie	ta-ṅkɔ
3rd. (proximate) singular	-e/ie	ya-
3rd. (honorific) singular	-e/ie	ya-ṅkɔ

The plural forms are,

1st. plural	-ame/ame-mane	amɔ /amɔ-manɔ-ṅkɔ
2nd. plural	- tume/tume-mane	tumɔ/tumɔ-manɔ-ṅkɔ
2nd. (hon.)plural	- apɔṇɔ-mane	apɔṇɔ-manɔ-ṅkɔ
3rd.(rem.)plural	-se-mane	se-manɔ-ṅkɔ
3rd. (prox.) plural	-e -mane	e- manɔ-ṅkɔ

The oblique base functions as the genitive and it may optionally take the suffix -rɔ. All other case suffixes and the post-positions occur after the oblique base.

2nd. person singular- It is to be noted here that unlike other two personal pronouns, 1st and 3rd person singular, the 2nd person singular has three pronouns: tu, tume and apɔṇɔ. This is not unique to Oriya as many other developed languages of India across families also show the same specialization. The 3 terms arranged in reciprocity, order being irrelevant would produce a maximum of six combinations, i.e.,

apɔṇɔ ↔ apɔṇɔ

apɔṇɔ ↔ tume

apɔṇɔ ↔ tu

tume ↔ tume

tume ↔ tu

tu ↔ tu

In other words, under any condition any two person engaged in any type of direct communication must necessarily accept any one of these channels to address each other. The inventory shows that three of these are combinations in equal terms or symmetric and the rest are inequal or asymmetric. Barring other possibilities it may be said that first significant variation appears between the 'age groups' called here as 'upper' and 'lower'. The upper age group can negotiate equality with all the three channels and the lower age group does it with the last two,i.e., tume↔tume, and tu↔tu. Again within the lower age group one subsection negotiates equality only with the channel tu↔tu. This sub-group of speakers may be called 'lower age. lower class' group and the other 'lower age group'.

Turning to the 'upper age' group it is found that here too there is a sub-group which negotiates equality only with tume↔tume and tu↔tu. This sub-section may be called 'upper age. lower class' group and the other 'upper age' group.

The 'upper age' group which apparently controls all the three channels however restricts the possibilities of negotiation in equal terms to the first two channels only, for it 'freezes' the tu↔tu channel. Normatively, it grants no synchronic value to the channel reflected characteristically in the very 'unproductive' nature of the channel for the group in question. Therefore for the apɔṇɔ sub-group it is possible to list all the instances falling into this channel tu↔tu exhaustively with rare scope for new addition to that list. For the said 'upper age. upper class' group it is a 'closed' channel belonging to the childhood 'history' of the person.

Thus the equivalents are,

upper age group: apɔṇɔ ↔apɔṇɔ , tume↔tume

upper age. lower class group: tume↔tume, tu↔tu

lower age group: tume↔tume, tu↔tu

lower age. lower class group : tu↔tu

A set of rewriting rules for the variants are,

upper age group: tume ↔tume → apɔṇɔ ↔ apɔṇɔ , when formal

upper age. lower class group: tu↔tu→tume↔tume, when formal

lower age group:tu↔tu → tume↔tume, when formal

lower age.lower class group: tu↔tu

Thus, we have a basic two-dimensional system which recognizes, two 'situations'-formal/non-formal and two 'positions' upper/non-upper.

The composition of the 'upper' position in terms of distinctive features are, '+age, +class' and, those of 'non-upper' are, '-age.-class', '+age.-class' and '-age.+class'.

Given this system of two terms tume, tu and the two situations formal, non-formal, all reciprocity must necessarily be framed within the same positional class or involving classes in any one of the two situations,

			formal
tume	↔	tume	
tu	↔	tu	
tume	↔	tu	

The whole reciprocal inventory listed above must now read in terms of the system,

apɔɲɔ ↔ apɔɲɔ] → tume↔tume – upper↔ upper

apɔɲɔ ↔ tume ┐
apɔɲɔ ↔ tu ┘ → tume ↔ tu - upper ↔ non-upper

tume ↔ tume ┐
tume ↔ tu ├→ tu ↔tu- non-upper↔ non-upper
tu ↔ tu ┘

and in terms of the process,

apɔɲɔ↔apɔɲɔ : ┌ upper age ↔ upper age (intra-group formal)

apɔɲɔ ↔ tume: ┌ upper age ↔ upper age.lower class(inter group formal)

:upper age ↔ lower age (inter group formal)

apɔɳɔ ↔tu : upper age ↔ lower age.lower class (inter group)

tume ↔ tume :
- :upper age ↔ upper age (intra-group non-formal)
- :upper age.lower class↔upper age.lower class (intra-group formal)
- :lower age ↔ lower age (intra-group formal)
- :upper age.lower class ↔ lower age (inter group formal)

tume ↔ tu :
- :upper age ↔ upper age.lower class (inter group non-formal)
- :upper age ↔ lower age (inter group non-formal)
- :upper age ↔ lower age. lower class (inter group)
- :upper age.lower class ↔lower.age.lower class(inter group)
- :lower age ↔ lower age.lower class (inter group)

tu↔tu :
- :upper age ↔ upper age (intra-group frozen)

:upper age.lower class ↔ upper age.lower class (intra-group non-formal)

:lower age ↔ lower age (intra-group non-formal)

:lower age.lower class ↔lower class (intra-group neutralized)

As regards the exception to these general rules it must be stated categorically that there is no exception in true sense of the word. Any variation in the pattern of behaviour will presuppose new variables at the corresponding level, such as – kinship. Kinship is a specialization and therefore it would also require very special rules and consequently different pronominal use. It must be noted that kinship cuts across class and age and forces its own 'usage'. For example, in higher Oriya society the maternal uncle's wife and brother's wife irrespective of their age, address their nephew/niece, and husband's brother/sister 'tume'. There are also other pronominal formalities to be adopted by father-son/ daughter, brothers, relationships, etc.

It is now possible to look at this data as a 'system of positions' in which a 'position' serves as a reference point for the 'rank order' of other position or positions. In other words, the positions may be given hierarchical values forming a single power-position nexus. Thus the single terms, taken out of their relative position, roughly stand for,

apọṇɔ - upper age formal

tume – upper age non-formal, upper age.lower class formal, lower age formal,

tu – upper age frozen, lower age. lower class, lower age non-formal, upper.age.lower class non-formal

It should be stressed however, the meaning of the 2nd person singular pronouns cannot be stated in 'absolute' terms. They are understood 'relatively' with reference to other pronouns with which they are in a reciprocal relationship. Earlier we have given them meaning in a tentative manner. But, they should be understood in terms of the above described matrix.

4.2.2

There are two demonstrative pronouns: e- this and se –that, which occur with inanimate nouns. The other variants of these pronouns are,

1. e/ei/ehi/eha – demonstrative pronoun proximate

   ya:/eha – oblique

2. se/sei/sehi/taha-demonstrative pronoun remote

   ta:/taha – oblique

The plurals of these pronouns are,

e-guṛikɔ /guṛakɔ - these,

se-guṛikɔ /guṛakɔ - those

However, it should be noted that there is some over-lapping between the 3rd personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns

Ex.

ie kie? - Who is he? (proximate)

sie kie? - Who is he? (remote)

But with non-person demonstrative pronouns,

ei-ṭa kɔṇ? - What is this? (proximate)

sei-ṭa kɔṇ? - What is that? (remote)

Or

eha kɔṇ? - What is it (proximate), and

eha-rɔ/ya:-rɔ dam kete? - What is the price of this?

taha kɔṇ? - What is that (remote), and

taha-rɔ dam kete? - What is the price of that?

Similarly, when pluralized these pronouns occur as,

e-guṛikɔ / e-guṛakɔ kɔṇ?- What are these? (proximate)

se-guṛikɔ /se-guṛakɔ kɔṇ? - What are those? (remote)

Compare these forms with,

e-mane kie? - Who are they (proximate)

se-mane kie? - Who are they (remote)

Consider the examples for over-lapping between 3rd person pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns,

Ex.

e/ei/ehi jhiɔ mo bhɔuṇi – This girl is my sister, and

e/ei/ehi kaṭhɔ mo dokanɔ-rɔ - This wood is from my shop.

In these sentences ei and sei occur both with animate and inanimate nouns as adjectivals. But there are two more inanimate demonstrative pronouns, eha-this/it, taha-that which contrast with animate pronouns, ie and sie, respectively.

Ex.

ie mo bhai-He(animate proximate) is my brother

eha mo kɔlɔm – It (inanimate proximate) is my pen

sie mo bhai – He(animate remote) is my brother

taha mo kɔlɔm – That(inanimate remote) is my pen

ie and sie occur only with animate nouns and eha and taha with inanimate nouns.

The paradigms for ei/eha – This/it and sei/taha –that are,

nominative – ehi/eha- sei/sehi/taha

accusative – eha-ku- taha-ku

genitive – eha-rɔ - taha-rɔ

instrumental – eha- dwara- taha-dwara

locative – eha-ṭhare- taha - ṭhare

ablative – eha-ṭharu- taha - ṭharu

In the plural forms only e and se occur and not eha and taha, i.e., eguṛikɔ - these and se-guṛikɔ - those,

Ex.

eguṛikɔ sɔbu-ṭharu miṭha koḷi

these all-from sweet berry

These berries are sweetest of all.

Similarly the plural personal pronouns are,

Ex.

emane kɔlikɔta-ru as-ichɔnti

these people Calcutta-from come-have

These people have come from Calcutta

semane mo bhɔuṇi

they my sister

They are my sisters

4.2.3

There are two sets of interrogative pronouns corresponding to animate and inanimate nouns. The animate pronoun kie – who? is a two stem pronoun with nominative and oblique forms, kie and kaha – respectively. The inanimate pronoun is single term kɔ :ṇ – what? It has an adjectival variant ki which occurs before nouns. Another form keũ/ kou also occurs as an interrogative adjective,

Ex. (pronouns)

1. kie apɔṇɔ-ṅkɔ ghɔrɔ- ku as-ibe
   who your house-to come-will
   Who will come to your house?
2. kaha ghɔrɔ-ku apɔṇɔ j-ibe
   whose house-to you go-will
   To whose house will you go?
3. se tumɔ-rɔ kɔṇ?
   he you-of what
   What is he to you?
4. apɔṇɔ muṭha-re kɔṇ luca-ichɔnti
   you fist-in what hide-have
   What have you hidden in the fist?
   The adjectivals are,
5. eiṭa ki kagɔjɔ
   this what paper
   What paper is this?
6. apɔṇɔ keũ/kou kagɔjɔ-ṭa khoj-uthile
   you which paper look-were
   What paper were you looking for?

In case of plurals, there are no different pronouns for animate and inanimate nouns. The only form which occurs with the plural markers is keũ/kou and takes –mane and -guṛikɔ plural markers for aṇimate and inanimate nouns respectively,

Ex.

1. keũ/kou-mane apɔṇɔ-ṅkɔ bɔndhu

who your friend

Who are your friends?

2. keũ/kou-guṛikɔ apɔṇɔ bɔjar-ru kiṇ-ile

which ones you market-from buy-did

Which ones did you buy from the market?

The paradigm for the interrogative pronoun kie-who,

Singular	Plural
nominative – kie	keũ/kou – mane
accusative – kaha-ku	kaha-ṅku, keũ/kou -manɔ-ṅku
genitive/oblique – kaha/kaha-rɔ	keũ/kou-manɔṅkɔ, keũ/kou-manɔ-ṅkɔrɔ
instrumental – kaha-dwara	keũ/kou-manɔ-ṅkɔ-dwara
locative – kaha -ṭhare/ṭhi	keũ/kou-manɔ-ṅkɔ-ṭhare/ṭhi
ablative-kaha-ṭharu/ṭhu	keũ/kou-manɔ-ṅkɔ-ṭharu/ṭhu

Three forms kehi, kichi, kɔuṇɔsi can also be brought under this section because of their k-initial shape, pointing at their interrogative origin. But they are not truly interrogatives, but are indefinite pronouns. All the three froms are single-stem pronouns and are neither conjugated for case nor take plural markers,

Ex.

(i) kehi – none, some

1. kehi mo ghɔrɔ- ku pɔs-ibɔ nahĩ

none my house-to enter-will not

None should enter into my house.

2. kehi jɔṇ-e kali as-ithila

some one yesterday come-had

Some one had come yesterday.

3. kehi mo kɔtha suṇ-ile nahĩ

none my story listen-did not

None did listen to my story.

(ii) kichi – some, any

1. kichi lokɔ jatra dekh-ile

some people opera see-did

Some people saw the opera.

2. mo-te kichi kagajɔ di-ɔ

me-to some paper give

Give me some paper.

(iii) kɔuṇɔsi – none, any

1. tumɔ- rɔ kɔuṇɔsi kɔtha suṇa j-ibɔ nahĩ

your none matter hear will not

None of your stories will be heard.

2. kɔuṇɔsi pila e bɔrsɔ bruti pa-ile nahĩ

any child this year scholarship get-did not

No child could get scholarship this year.

4.2.4.

The relative pronoun je/jie – who is also a two stem pronoun. The nominative form is je/jie and the oblique form is jaha. The plural jeũ/jou-mane is formed with the relative adjective jeũ/jou. The paradigms for the singular and plural are,

	Singular	Plural
nominative -	je/jie	jeũ/jou-man-e

accusative -	jaha-ku/-ṅku (honorific)	jeũ/jou-manɔ-ṅku
obl. /genitive -	jaha/jaha-ṅkɔ (hon.)	jeũ-manɔ-ṅkɔ/ṅkɔ rɔ
	jaha-rɔ	jaha-ṅkɔ/-ṅkɔ rɔ
instrumental -	jaha-dwara	jeũ-manɔ-ṅkɔ dwara
		jaha-ṅkɔ dwara
locative -	jaha -ṭhare/ṭhi	jeũ-manɔ-ṅkɔ-ṭhare/ṭhi,
		jaha -ṅkɔ ṭhare/ṭhi
ablative-	jaha -ṭharu/ṭhu	jeũ-manɔ-ṅkɔ-ṭharu/ṭhu
		jaha-ṅkɔ ṭharu/ṭhu.

Ex.

1. je agɔ as-ithile se cal-i gɔ-le.
   who early come-had he go did
   The one who came earlier, he went away
2. je j-ibɔ se pɔisa pa-ibɔ
   who go-will he money get-will
   The one who will go; he will get money
3. jaha kɔtha tume kɔh-uchɔ ta-ṅku mũ jaṇ-e
   whose about you talk-are him-to I know
   About whom you are talking, I know him
4. jaha-ṅku kɔh-ibɔ se biswas kɔr-ibe
   whom-to(hon.) tell-will he believe do-will(hon.)
   Whomever you will tell, he would believe
5. jeũ/jou-man-e bɔṛɔ se-mane cal-i ja:ntu
   who old they leave should

Those who are old let them leave

6. jeũ/jou-manɔ-ṅku tume cinh-ɔ kebɔḷɔ sei-manɔ-ṅku ḍak-ɔ
   whom you know only them call
   Those whom you know, call only them.

4.2.5

The four pronouns e-this, se-that, ke-which, je-that one, take a number of post-positions which function as adjectival or adverbial pronouns,

Ex.

(i) e-miti se-miti ke-miti je-miti

1. e-miti bɔrsa mũ dekh-i-nɔ-thili
   this-like rain I see not-did
   I did not see such rain.
2. se-miti bɔrsa au he-bɔ nahĩ
   that-like rain again be-will not
   There will be no rain like that again
3. e bɔrsa-re ke-miti j-ibɔ
   this rain-in how go-will
   How will you go in such rain
4. mũ je-miti suṇ-ili se-miti kɔ-li
   I what-like hear-did like-that do-did
   I did the like I heard.

(ii) e-pɔri se-pɔri ki-pɔri je-pɔri
   like this like that how like it

(iii)	e-be/obl. e-bɔ,	se-be/obl.se-ḃɔ,te-be	ke-be/obl.-bɔ	je-be/obl.-bɔ
	now	then	when	whenever
(iv)	e-te/obl.e-tɔkɔ	se-te/obl.se-tɔkɔ	ke-te/ke-tɔkɔ	je-te/je-tɔkɔ
	this much	that much	how much	that much
(v)	ete-beḷe/obl.-beḷɔ	sete-beḷe/obl.beḷɔ	kete-beḷe/-beḷɔ	jete-beḷe/obl.-beḷɔ
	now/at this time	at that time	when	when
(vi)	e-ṛe	se-ṛe	ke-ṛe	je-ṛe
	this big	that big	how big	that big
(vii)	eṇe/obl.ṇɔ	teṇe/obl.ṇɔ	-	jeṇe
	this way	that way	(keṇe occurs in some dialects only)	that way
(viii)	e-aṛe/obl.aṛɔ	se-aṛe/-aṛɔ	ku-aṛe/ -aṛɔ	ju-aṛe/-aṛɔ
			keũ-aṛe/-aṛɔ	jeũ-aṛe/-aṛɔ
	this way	that way	where	that way
(ix)	e-ṭhi/obl.-ṭha	se-ṭhi/-ṭha	kou-ṭhi/-ṭha	jou-ṭhi/-ṭha
			keũ -ṭhi/-ṭha	jeũ-ṭhi/-ṭha
	here	there	where	there

The following chart gives a list of other derived pronouns under three headings: demonstrative, interrogative and relative.

demonstrative	interrogative	relative
e/ie – this man	ke/kie – who	je/jie – who
	(kehi-some one, none)	(je kehi – any one)

se/sie – that man

ei/ehi – this, it	keũ/kou – which	jeũ/jou – that which
sei/sehi – that	ki/kɔ:ɳɔ - what	jaha – that which
	kaha – whose	
eha/eya – this thing	(kichi-some,	kɔuɳɔsi – none, no one)

taha/seya – that thing

eina – now

emiti – like this	kemiti – how	jemiti – like that

semiti-like that

ebe – now	kebe – when	jebe – whenever

sebe/tebe – then

ete – this much	kete – how much	jete – how ever much

sete – that much

etiki – this much	ketiki – how much	jetiki – how ever much

setiki – that much

etɔkɔ - this much	ketekɔ - some	jetekɔ - that much

setɔkɔ - that much

etebeḷe – this time, now ketebeḷe – what time

jetebeḷe – what ever time ;

setebeḷe – that time, then

eṭhare/eṭhi – here	keũṭhi/kouṭhi – where	jeũṭhi/jouṭhi – wherever
seṭhare/seṭhi – there	(kɔuɳɔsiṭhi – no where)	
eaṛe – this way	keũaṛe/kuaṛe – where	jeũaṛe/juaṛe – which ever way

seaṛe – that way

eṇe - this way (dialectically only - keṇe) jeṇe –which ever way

(seṇe)/ teṇe – that way

eṭhu – from here keũṭhu/kouṭhu – from where jeũṭhu/ jouṭhu- wherever from

seṭhu – from there (kɔuṇɔsiṭhu-from somewhere)

epɔri – like this kipɔri – how jepɔri – like that

sepɔri – like that

Ex.

e/ie - ie jɔṇ-e cikischɔkɔ

this one(person) doctor

This person is a doctor

se/sie- sie jɔṇ-e ḍaktɔr

he one(person) doctor

He is a doctor

ke/kie - kie aji asiba-rɔ th-ila

who today coming-of was

Who was to come today?

kehi - kehi jɔṇ-e aji as-i par-ɔnti

some one(person) today come may

Some one might come today

je/jie - aji jie as-ichɔnti se amɔ- rɔ sɔbhapɔti

today one who come-has he our president

The one who has come today, he is our President

je kehi - je kehi lokɔ e kamɔ kɔr-i par-ibɔ

any person this work do can-will

Any person can do this work

ei/ehi - ei ṭhikɔṇa-re mo-te khoj-ibe

this address-at me-to look-will

You will look for me at this address

eine - mũ eine j-ibi (some variants are, eina, eila, etc.)

I now go-will

I will go now

sei/sehi - sei bhɔdrɔ lokɔ-ṅku mũ cinh-e

that gentleman-to I know

I know that gentleman

eha/eya - eha pɔre au khaiba-ku nahĩ

this after more eating-to not

After this nothing more for eating

taha/seya - taha-dwara apɔṇɔ-ṅkɔ karjyɔ siddhi he-bɔ

that-by your success be-will

You will succeed by that

ki/kɔ:ṇɔ - to:rɔ ki kamɔ dɔṙkar

your what work wanted

What work do you want?

kaha - kaha upɔre biswasɔ kɔr-ibe

whose upon believe so-will

Whom would you believe?

kichi - mɔ-te kichi di-ɔ

me-to some give

Give me some

kɔuṇɔsi - tumɔ-rɔ kɔuṇɔsi kɔtha suṇ-a j-ibɔ nahĩ

your none talk hear will not

None of your talk would be heard

jeũ/jou - jeũ gitɔ jaṇ-ɔ sei gitɔ-ṭi ga-ɔ

the one song know that song sing

The song you know, sing that one

jaha - jaha jaṇ-ɔ kuh-ɔ

that know tell

Tell what you know

emiti - e-miti sundɔr jhiɔ mũ dekhi-i-nɔ-thili

this-like beautiful girl I see not–had

I had not seen such a beautiful girl

semiti - se-miti kamɔ kɔr-iba kɔsṭɔ

that-like work doing difficult

It is difficult to work of that nature

kemiti - ke-miti j-ibe

how go-will

How will you go?

jemiti - je-miti khɔbɔr pa-ibe cal-i as-ibe

as soon as news get-will come-will

As soon as you get the news, come forthwith

ebe -e-be au bɔrsa he-u-nahĩ

now more rain be-not

Now, it is not raining anymore

sebe/tebe -jɔdi jaṇ-ɔnti te-be as-ɔntu

if know then come

If you know then come

kebe- ke-be pu:ṇi dekh-a-he-bɔ

when again see-be-will

When shall we meet again,/ We will meet sometime

jebe -je-be mɔ-te dekh-ibe pɔcar-ibe

when me-to see-will ask-will

When you will see me, ask me.

With the oblique forms ebɔ , sebɔ and kebɔ , -ka may be suffixed

Ex

1. se ebɔ-ka kɔtha jaṇ-e nahĩ

he of-now matter know not

He does not know of recent matters

2. se sebɔ-ka kɔtha jaṇ-e nahĩ

he of that time matter know not

He does not know matter of that time.

or,

sebɔ-ka kɔtha-re kanɔ di-ɔ nahĩ

old of matter-in ear give not

Do not pay heed to old tales.

3. kebɔ-ka kɔtha pɔcar-u-chɔnti

of-when matter ask-are

Of which time matter are you asking

ete - kie e-te kagɔjɔ cir-ichi

who so much paper tear-has

Who has torn so much paper?

sete - sete durɔ-re rɔh-i bi se as-ichɔnti

that far-at stay even he come-has

In spite of staying so far he has come

kete - mo:-ṭhu tume ke-te pa-ibɔ

me-from you how much get-will

How much would you get from me?

jete - jete de-le bi se sɔntuṣṭɔ nuh-ɔnti

how much give even he pleased not

No matter how much you give he is not pleased.

etiki - e-tiki aji ni-ɔ

this much today take

Take only this much today

setiki - se-tiki tha-u

that much stop

That is enough

ketiki - ke-tiki –re tume khusi he-bɔ

how much with you happy be-will

You will be pleased with how much?

jetiki- je-tiki ɔrjɔnɔ kɔr-icho se-tiki khɔrcɔ kɔr-ɔ

that-much earn do-have that-much spend do

Spend only what you have earned.

etɔkɔ- e-tɔkɔ ni-ɔ

this much take

Take this much

setɔkɔ - mɔ-te se-tɔkɔ di-ɔ

me-to that much give

Give me that much

ketɔkɔ -ke-tɔkɔl okɔ se-ṭhu pher-i as-ile

some people there-from return did

Some people came back from there

jetɔkɔ - mo:rɔ je-tɔkɔ dhɔnɔ ɔch-i se sɔbu to:-rɔ

me-of that-much wealth have that all your

Whatever wealth I have, all that is yours

Apparently, there is not much difference in meaning between –tiki and -tɔkɔ forms as both the sets are extensions of the underlying ete- with the definite suffixes –ki and -kɔ. However, the –ki suffix generally, signifies 'this little' while -kɔ means the 'whole amount'

etebeḷe - ete-beḷ-e kahĩki as-ilɔ

this time-at why come-did

Why did you come now?

setebeḷe- sete-beḷ-e mũ tumɔ-ku pɔcar-ibi

that time-at I you-to ask-will

I will ask you then

ketebeḷe - kete-beḷ-e ta-ṅku ḍak-ilɔ

what time-at him-to call-did

When did you call him?

jetebeḷe - mũ jete-beḷ-e j-ibi tumɔ-ku ḍak-ibi

I that-time-at go-will you-to call-will

I will call you when I go

eṭhare/ṭhi - e-ṭhi bɔs-ɔ

this-place sit

Sit here

seṭhare/ṭhi - se-ṭhi kie rɔh-uchɔnti

that-place-at who live-is

Who is living there?

keũṭhare/ṭhi - ta-ṅkɔ dokanɔ keũ-ṭhi

kouṭhare/ṭhi his shop what-place-at

Where is his shop?

kɔuṇɔsi-ṭhare/ṭhi- kɔuṇɔsi-ṭhi se nah-anti

no place-at he not

He is no where

jeũṭhare/ṭhi - jeũ-ṭhi iccha se-ṭhi bɔs-ɔ

jouṭhare/ṭhi whatever place-at wish there sit

Sit wherever you wish

ethi - e-thi-ru telɔ bahar-e

this-from oil extract

Oil is extracted from this

sethi - mɔ-te se-thi-ru kichi di-ɔ

me-to that-from some give

Give me some from that

keũ/kou-thi - keũ-thi-paĩ paṭi kɔr-uchɔ

what-for shout are

What are you shouting for?

jeũ/jou-thi - jeũ-thi-paĩ as-ichɔ , sei kamɔ kɔr-ɔ

that-for come-have that work do

Do that work for which you have come

eṛe - e-ṛe jɔldi pher-i par-ibɔ

this quick return will

Will you be able to return this quickly

seṛe - se-ṛe bɔṛɔ dɔuṛi-ṭe keũṭhi pa-ibɔ

that big rope where get-will

Where will you get such a big rope?

keṛe - ke-ṛe gora se sɔte

how fair she really

How fair is she really

jeṛe - je-ṛe baũsɔ-ku se-ṛe polɔ

that bamboo-to that hollow

The hollow is as big as the bamboo (a proverb)

eaṛe - e-aṛe bɔrsa he-i-ni

this-way rain be-not

It has not rained this way

seaṛe - se-aṛe bɔrsa he-uchi

that-way rain be-is

It is raining that way

keũ/ku-aṛe- ku-aṛe j-iba-ku tumɔ-rɔ mɔnɔ

where going-to you-of wish

Where do you wish to go?

jeũ /jou -aṛe - jou~ju-aṛe j-ibɔ ja-ɔ

anywhere go-will go

Go wherever you will

eṇe -eṇe as-ɔ

this come

Come this way

teṇe/seṇe- teṇe ɔnek dokanɔ ɔch-i

that-way many shop are

There are many shops that way

jeṇe - jeṇe ja-uchɔ ja-ɔ , ḍeri kɔr-ibɔ nahĩ

which way go-are go, late do-will not

Go whichever way you want, but do not be late.

e-ṭharu/ṭhu - e-ṭhu kɔlikɔta kete durɔ

here-from Calcutta now far

Calcutta is how far from here?

se-ṭharu/ -ṭhu - se-ṭhu ramɔ pher-iba jae ɔpekhya kɔr-ɔ

there-from Rama return till wait do

Wait till Rama's return form there

keũ-ṭharu/ṭhu - kou-ṭhu ete ṭaṅka pa-ibɔ

kou-ṭharu/ṭhu - where-from so much money get-will

Where form will you get so much money

jeũ-ṭharu/ṭhu- jou-ṭhu par-uchɔ udharɔ kɔr-ɔ

jou-ṭharu/ṭhu where-from can borrow do

Borrow where from you can

epɔri - e-pɔri citrɔ mũ dekh-i-nɔ-thili

this-like picture I see-did-not

I did not see such picture

sepɔri - se-pɔri kamɔ kɔr-ɔ nahĩ

that-like work do not

Do not do that kind of work

kipɔri - ɔndharɔ-re ki-pɔri dekh-ibɔ

dark-in how see-will

How will you see in dark

jepɔri - je-pɔri jaṇ-ichɔ se-pɔri lekh-ɔ

the like know-have that like write

Write the way you have known

Although both -pɔri and its variant -miti occur commonly in the written variety of the language, -miti is more natural in the spoken variety.

4.2.6

There are no true reflexive pronouns in Oriya. Two words like ape and nije, meaning 'self' are used as pronouns giving reflexive meaning. But, these are also two-stem forms like other pronouns, i.e., direct and oblique. The oblique forms take the case markers. The pronouns also do not take any plural marker, but plural meaning is obtained by reduplicating the pronouns. These socalled reflexive pronouns are,

i. nominative nije/ oblique nijɔ

ii. nominative ape/ oblique apɔṇa

Ex.

1. mũ nije pɔcar-ichi

   I self ask-have

   I myself has asked

2. se nije buddhiman

   he self wise

   He himself is wise

3. ei-ṭa mo nijɔ-rɔ bahaduri

   this my own glory

   This is my own achievement

4. mũ ape jɔṇ-e ḍaktɔr

   I self one doctor

   I myself is a doctor

5. ramɔ apɔṇa ceṣṭa-re nacɔ sikh-ichi

   Rama own efforts-with dance learn-has

   Rama has learnt dancing by his own efforts

6. tume apɔṇa-ku cinh-ɔ nahĩ

   you self-to recognize not

   You do not know yourself

   The reduplicated forms signifying plurality

Ex.

1. ame ape ape sikh-ichu

   we own learn-have

   We have learnt on our own

2. apɔṇa apɔṇa jaga-ku cal-i ja-ɔ

   own place-to go

   Go to your own places

3. ame nije nije pɔḍh-i sikh-ichu

   we own read learn-have

   We have learnt to read on our own

4. nijɔ nijɔ ceṣṭa-re mɔṇisɔ hu-ɔ

   own efforts-with man become

   Be successful with your own efforts

4.3

Oriya proper nouns or personal names have changed over generations both for males and females. In the older generations, the names were mostly the names of the Hindu gods and the goddesses. The innumberable names of these devine beings were an inexhaustible source for personal names. Besides the surnames, other elements which were present in old Oriya names were not independent middle names but 'modifiers' which modified the first name. Take the examples of kantɔ or dhɔrɔ which modify the first names they follow. The first name rɔma – another name for goddess Laxmi when take the epithet kantɔ - husband, changes from a female name to a male. Thus, rɔma-kantɔ means 'the husband of Rɔma' or Kɔmɔḷa-Kantɔ -the husband of Kɔmɔḷa or Laxmi. Similarly, names like cɔkrɔ -dhɔrɔ or murɔli - dhɔrɔ, mean cɔkrɔ - a weapon and dhɔrɔ -one who holds a chakra, i.e., Vishnu, or murɔli-dhɔrɔ - one who holds a flute, i.e., Krishna. Other modifiers of the same kind are, pɔti-husband, kumarɔ - youth/ son, sekhɔrɔ - head/top, prɔsɔnnɔ - blessed/pleased, etc. The male names of the yester years and still in use are many. The main reason for choosing the names of gods and goddesses for near and dear ones is to ward off evils form the holder of that name and for others an extra occasion to be reminded of god when talking of or addressing that person. Some of these names are,

Modifier	Name
kantɔ- husband	radha-kantɔ , sita-kantɔ
pɔti -husband	kɔmɔḷa-pɔti, sita-pɔti
kumarɔ -youth	nɔbɔ -kumarɔ , krusnɔ -kumarɔ
kisorɔ - youth	brɔjɔ -kisorɔ , nɔbɔ -kisorɔ
pɔdɔ - at the feet	kaḷi-pɔdɔ , uma-pɔdɔ
cɔrɔṇɔ- at the feet	kanhu-cɔrɔṇɔ , kisori-cɔrɔṇɔ

prɔsɔnnɔ - blessed	kaḷi-prɔsɔnnɔ, sibɔ-prɔsɔnnɔ
prɔsadɔ - blessed	krusnɔ- prɔsadɔ, lɔkhmi-prɔsadɔ
rɔmɔṇɔ - husband	radha-rɔmɔṇɔ, rɔti-rɔmɔṇɔ,
dhɔrɔ - holder	hɔḷɔ-dhɔrɔ, bɔṅsi-dhɔrɔ, etc.

The corresponding female names use the names of goddesses with or without modifiers. But the names may take a few second elements like, raṇi-queen, maḷa – necklace, kumari- young girl, baḷa-daughter, etc. which give an ornamental finish to the names,

Modifier	Name
mɔṇi- jewel	netrɔ- mɔṇi, radha - mɔṇi
raṇi - queen	radha-raṇi, usa-raṇi
kumari - girl	bɔsɔntɔ- kumari, prɔphullɔ- kumari
bɔti - lady	liḷa-bɔti, kɔḷa-bɔti
baḷa - girl	reṇu-baḷa, ɔṅgur-baḷa
lɔta -creeper	hemɔ- lɔta, bɔnɔ- lɔta, etc.

These names are usually shortened when used as nick-names. In case of male names an –a is added as in, kaḷi-kaḷia, kanhu-kanhua, radha-radhua, cɔkrɔ-cɔkɔra, ramɔ - rama, syamɔ/ samɔ-sama, dasɔ-dasia, mɔdhu - mɔdhua, etc. But using – a after male first name is now considered a derogatory practice and is limited to lower stratum of society. Now, usually the practice is to give independent nick names which have no relation with the original names. As regards the names of females no change is made except that the second elements like, baḷa, raṇi, kumari, etc. are dropped.

During the last fifty years or so, the practice of naming individuals by gods' and goddesses' names have gone mostly out of fashion and meaningful words like abstract nouns and adjectives are used as personal names. This is more noticeable in case of male names. Some of these

male names are like, sɔmpɔdɔ - wealth, ullasɔ - joy, bipḷɔbɔ-revolution, sɔrɔtɔ - autumn, tɔruṇɔ- youth, binɔyɔ - modest, sɔrojɔ - lotus, ɔbhɔyɔ -brave, nɔbinɔ - new, etc.,and similarly for the females are sɔṅgita-music, swɔpna- dream, santi – peace, susɔma – pretty, sɔrɔḷa – simple, kɔsturi-musk, prɔtibha – talent, etc. A new dimension which has been added to the Oriya naming pattern is in stead of adopting divine names, names of mythological and historical heros and personalities including political leaders and even film actors and actresses are used more popularly as personal names. Some of these historical names are, ɔsokɔ, kharɔbeḷɔ , rɔṇjit, dipɔṅkɔrɔ, gɔutɔmɔ, and other names of personalities are, jɔwaharlal, indira, hema, dhɔrmendrɔ, rajes, gopɔbɔndhu, lenin, debanɔnd, ḍimpil, lopamudra, sahana, ḍaena, etc. Further, the earlier practice of using ornamental modifiers like, kumarɔ , nathɔ, cɔrɔṇɔ or female kumari, baḷa, bɔti, etc. are also no longer in vogue.

Since a couple of decades a new trend in personal names for both males and females is emerging in Oriya. In stead of earlier use of modifiers two completely unrelated names are given to the children. This is truly a strange practice and the names are totally unrelated. Some of these names for male are, parthɔsarɔthi ɔbhɔyɔ , ʂɔmbit subhɔṅkɔrɔ, akasɔ ɔbhisekɔ, ɔsimɔ ɔmitabhɔ, etc. These formations consist of two unrelated names. Similarly, the names for girls are, prɔgyã jyotismɔti etc. These high-flown names are generally cumbersome for day to day use. Therefore most of these names have popular sobriquets which are convenient to use. In fact, these fancy names are hardly used except in formal situations. For all practical purposes the nick names are used every where and much more importance is given to them. Earlier too using nick names were quite common and were popular in Oriya society. These names were paired names like,

Male	Female
buḍha	buḍhi
kuna	kuni
ṭuna	ṭuni
bula	buli
hɔgura	hɔguri
beṅgɔ	beṅguli
gurubaria	gurubari, etc

These meaningful but prosaic names are no longer popular in the modern society. Now much more importance is given to the sorbiquets and they open up a new vista of imaginative sound sequences which are mostly nonsense. These names are coined sometimes in a rhyming sequence in naming the siblings like, mili, jhili, sili, ṭili, etc. Some of these nick names like, minali, ami, ciṇṭu, gagali, mili, pɔpuli, sɔṇṭu, biki, bubu, riṭi, ciku, lipu, ṭiṭɔn, sami, itu, isu, etc. are purely nonsense syllables.

4.3.1

The last part of an Oriya name is the surname. The surnames are normally caste based or are secular titles given by some king to a mythical ancestor of some family, which is inherited down generations by male progenies of the said family. The female descendants of a family usually do not have a surname except a common dei (for non-Brahmin females), debya (widow) or the present universal *debi*. However, the present trend for the females is to adopt the father's surname before marriage and the husband's after it. Among equals the usual term for addressing a person is by the surname with an – e suffix like, mɔhapatr-e, das-e, mɔhanti-e, pɔdhan-e, sahu-e, etc. But this form of address has also become old-fashioned and now babu is attached to a name or a surname

in addressing a male person, i.e., ɔjɔyɔ- babu, purnɔ- babu, ghɔnɔsyamɔ - babu, etc. The babu term can also be attached to the surnames, i.e.,das-babu, misrɔ- babu, nayɔkɔ - babu, etc. This is the most common form of address unless the person to be addressed is either too high or too low in the prestige scale. In case of persons who are rather high in prestige, usually the –babu is not used. In case of young persons first names are used without the babu. An alternative to these devices is to adopt kinship terms like, bhai/bɔṛɔ bhai – brother, mɔusa – mother's sister's husband, mausi – mother's sister, nani/ɔpa – sister, bhaina/nɔna- a Brahmin male, etc. But these terms are too delicate operations to be attempted by strangers into the Oriya society, and it would be wiser to avoid them until the more acceptable and 'safer' babu is established without hurting the egos of either parties.

All names when cited in full take prefixes like sri, srimɔti, etc. which are fairly equal to English Mr. and Mrs., respectively in use. The common prefixes for the names are,

sri – respectable male(general)

srijuktɔ - elderly respectable male (special)

kumari/susri – unmarried female.

srimɔti – respectable married female.

The surnames for the standard Oriya area are,

(i) non-secular

1. for Brahmin castes: misrɔ, hota, rɔthɔ, tripaṭhi/tiaṛi, pɔṇḍa, nɔndɔ, sɔṛɔṅgi, cɔini/cɔturbedi, dasɔ (spelled dashɔ), pɔti, kɔrɔ, etc.
2. for khyɔtriyɔ caste: debɔ/deo, siṅgh deo, siṅghɔ, bhɔnjɔdeo, etc.
3. for kɔrɔṇɔ caste : mɔhanti, dasɔ, pɔṭṭɔnayakɔ, etc

4. for khɔṇḍayɔtɔ/cɔsa castes : ray, rautɔ and a large number of surnames which are actually titles given by some ruler, prɔdhanɔ/pɔdhanɔ, pɔriṛa etc.
5. for 'Harijana' castes : dasɔ, mɔḷikɔ, bauri, haṛi, kɔṇḍɔra, etc.

(ii) secular titles bestowed by kings which are used as surnames by descendants-

mɔhapatrɔ, choṭɔray, bɔḷiyarɔ siṅghɔ, cɔmpɔtiray, behera, behura, behuria, rautɔray, dɔkhiṇɔkɔbaṭɔ, chuaḷɔ-siṅghɔ, hati, bhujɔbɔḷɔ, etc. Most of these titles excepting a few like mɔhapatrɔ, nayɔk, patrɔ, sahu etc., are used by khɔṇḍayɔtɔ caste only.

It may be noted that except for the Brahmin and the khyɔtriyɔ castes, other castes do not have exclusive caste surnames to underline their non-secular identity. There is considerable overlapping among castes in the use of these titles. Even a title like *'dasɔ'* which is found among all castes from Brahmins to Dalits, however spelled with a 'palatal *sa*' by the Brahmins differently from all others who spell it with a 'dental *sa*'. This is an attempt by the Brahmins to stress their separate identity in spite of a common surname.

4.4

There ara a number of morphemes in Oriya which occur after an oblique/genitive base of nouns and pronouns. These morphemes fall into two classes: adverbial nouns and post-positions. The adverbial nouns although are nouns in morphological level, syntactically they function as adverbials. The adverbial nouns are conjugated for the cases while the post-positions are not. As these nouns have a high frequency in tha language , some of them are fused with the case markers, particularly if they end in a liquid consonant, i.e., tɔḷɔ - below becomes tɔḷ-e, tɔḷ-u in stead of tɔḷɔ-re, tɔḷɔ- ru, etc. Similarly, upɔrɔ - above becomes upɔr-e , upɔr-u, etc.

(i) The adverbial nouns are,

Ex.

1. agɔ-front, before

   mo agɔ-ku as-ɔ

   my front-to come

   Come to my front

   se mo agɔ-ru as-ichɔnti

   he my before come-has

   He has come before me.

2. pɔchɔ- back, behind

   mo pɔchɔ- re as-ɔ

   my behind come

   Come behind me

3. tɔḷɔ -below

   maṭi tɔḷ-e paṇi ɔch-i

   earth below water is

   There is water below the ground

4. upɔrɔ - above

   mo upɔre paṇi pɔka-ɔ nahĩ

   my upon water throw not

   Do not throw water on me.

5. baharɔ- outside

   mo bahar-e se bi as-ichɔnti

   my other than he too come-has

   He has also come besides me.

6. bhitɔrɔ - inside

   ḍholɔ bhitɔr-e musa luc-ichi

   drum inside mouse hide-has

   The mouse has hidden inside the drum

7. aṛɔ -direction

   ta aṛɔ- ku/aṛ-e cãh-ɔ

   his direction look

   Look at his direction

8. pɔṭɔ - side

   amɔ pɔṭɔ-re/pɔṭ-e sɔmɔste ɔch-ɔnti

   our side-at all are

   All are on our side

9. ṭha – place, location

   nɔdi-ṭha-ru/ṭhu tume ɔnek durɔ-re

   river from you much far

   You are very far from the river

10. pakhɔ - near

    tumɔ pakhɔ-re se kie

    your near he who

    Near you, who is he?

11. nikɔṭɔ- near

    deuḷɔ nikɔṭɔ-re dokanɔ khol-ɔ

    temple near shop open

    Open a shop near the temple

12. saṅgɔ - company

    mo saṅgɔ- re as-ɔ

my company-in come

Come with me

13.samna – front, facing

jhiɔ-ṅkɔ samna-re bɔs-ɔ- ni

girls-of front sit-not

Do not sit in front of the girls

14.purbɔ - before

amɔ purbɔ-ru semane th-ile

our before they were

They were before us

ii. The other group of nouns which occur with fixed markers are treated as post-positions

Ex.

1. dwara/dei – by

tumɔ-dwara ame upɔkrutɔ ho-ichu

your by we benefitted be

We have been benefitted by you.

2. hetu – because

amɔ hetu tume bɔṛɔ lokɔ he-lɔ

our cause you rich become-did

You became rich because of us.

3. sɔhitɔ -with

se tumɔ sɔhitɔ lɔḍhei kɔr-ibe

he your with fight do-will

He will fight with you

4. sɔkase – because of

   jhiɔ sɔkase apɔṇɔ ete byɔstɔ kahĩki

   daughter for you so worried why

   Why are you so worried for the daughter?

5. bina – without

   mo: bina tumɔ- rɔ ɔnyɔ gɔti nahĩ

   my without your other means not

   You have no way other than me

6. lagi – for

   mo: lagi byɔstɔ hu-ɔntu nahĩ

   my for worried be not

   Do not be worried because of me

7. jogu – because of

   amɔ jogu apɔṇɔ rɔkhya pa-i-gɔ-le

   our because of you saved get-did

   You got saved because of us

8. prɔti – for

   taṅkɔ prɔti e ɔbicarɔ kahĩki

   his for this injustice why

   Why is this injustice to him?

9. chɔṛa – without

   amɔ chɔṛa kehi apɔṇɔ-ṅku cinh-ɔnti-ni

   our except none you-to know-not

   None knows you except us

10. pɔre - after

    tumɔ pɔre amɔ paḷi

your after our turn

It is our turn after you

11.paĩ – for

semanɔ-ṅkɔ paĩ kichi rɔkh-ɔ

their for some keep

Keep some for them

12.nimɔnte – for

kaha nimɔnte e ayojɔnɔ

whose for this arrangement

For whom is this arrangement?

13. ɔnusare – according to

amɔ adesɔ ɔnusare kamɔ kɔrɔ

our order according work do

Work according to our order

14.byɔtitɔ - without, except

mo byɔtitɔ kehi as-i par-ibe-ni

my except none come can-will –not

None could come except me

15.pɔrjyɔntɔ - up to, till

bɔjarɔ pɔrjyɔntɔ mo saṅgɔ-re cal-ɔ

market up to my with come

Come with me up to the market

4.5

Noun stems consisting of a base and one or more derivational affixes are called Complex nouns. Complex noun stems behave like simple stems in entering into morphological processes representing the

categories of gender, number and case. These morphological markers which are segmentable are already listed in the preceeding sections- 4.1.2, 4.1.3 and 4.1.4 and are therefore not repeated here. Besides these morphemes, a number of affixes both of Sanskrit and Oriya origin are also attached to the nouns. It has been said already that Oriya words fall into three categories etymologically, i.e., tɔtschɔmɔ/ tɔtsɔmɔ - Sanskrit loans, tɔdbhɔbɔ - derived from Sanskrit historically and desɔjɔ words of non-Sanskritic origin or words of doubtful origin. There are a number of affixes used frequently in Oriya which are from Sanskrit and are exclusively used with Sanskrit words complete with Sanskrit Sandhi rules. But as these morphological processes are not a part of native speaker's grammatical competence and are mostly learned by rote, these are not treated as productive processes except being listed for reference purposes. These prefixes which are called upɔsɔrgɔ in traditional Oriya grammars, rarely have fixed meaning and sometimes only a zero meaning. Consider these pairs of words with and without the affix,

Ex

sɔndhanɔ - search: ɔnu-sɔndhanɔ - investigation, search

srɔmɔ - labour : pɔri-srɔmɔ - labour

gitɔ - song :sɔṅ-gitɔ - music

sesɔ - end : pɔri -sesɔ - final, end

heḷa – neglect : ɔbɔ-heḷa – neglect

khyatɔ - famous : bi - khyatɔ - famous, etc.

But, these prefixes add 'weightage' to the word supposedly and are used quite frequently in the 'learned' variety of the language, even in preference to the simple words.

4.5.1

The Oriya word-formatives are of two types, prefixes and suffixes.

The Sanskrit prefixes are,

1. bi – in the meaning of opposite

   bi - krɔyɔ - selling : krɔyɔ - buying

   bi - dhɔrmi – heretic : dhɔrmɔ - religion

   bi - jogɔ - substraction : jogɔ - addition

   bi-smrutɔ - forgotten : smruti – memory

   bi - phɔḷɔ - unsuccessful : phɔḷɔ - result, etc.

   in the meaning of intensity, speciality, etc

   bi - suddhɔ - pure : suddhɔ - pure

   bi - nɔmrɔ - modest : nɔmrɔ - modest

   bi - gyanɔ - science ; gyanɔ - knowledge

   bi - mata - step-mother : mata – mother

   bi - tɔrkɔ - argument ; tɔrkɔ - argument, etc

If the prefix bi- is prefixed to a vowel-initial base, it becomes byɔ , i.e., bi-akuḷɔ → byakuḷɔ - worried, bi-ɔbɔstha → byɔbɔstha – arrangement, etc.

A number of other words with bi- prefix also occur in the language, but they cannot be segmented except on analogy as the underlying word does not occur in Oriya. For example, bikɔṭɔ - dreadful, bismɔyɔ - surprise, bikɔḷɔ - tormented, bikasɔ - development, birɔhɔ - separation, etc.

2. prɔ - this prefix has no fixed meaning. In some words it means 'smallness' or a 'fraction', as in - prɔ- desɔ- division of a country: desɔ - country. In a few other words, it means 'more' or 'better'

as in, prɔ-gɔti – progress: gɔti - motion, prɔ-gaḍhɔ-intense; gaḍhɔ - intense, prɔ- dipɔ- lamp: dipɔ lamp, etc. Other words with this prefix are, pɹɔcɔkhyu – spectacles: cɔkhyu – eye, prɔbɔkta – spokes person: bɔkta – speaker, prɔbɔcɔnɔ -lecture; bɔcɔnɔ - talk, and prɔcɔṇḍɔ, prɔcɔḷɔnɔ, prɔcesṭa, prɔjwɔḷɔnɔ, prɔtapɔ, prɔmɔttɔ, prɔjɔnɔnɔ, prɔbasi, prɔkhɔrɔ, prɔdanɔ, prɔsasɔnɔ, prɔbɔncɔna, prɔbɔḷɔ, prɔlobhɔnɔ, etc.

3. pɔra – This prefix too has no fixed meaning and many of the words are not segmentable except on analogy. Some of these words are, pɔra - jɔyɔ - defeat: jɔyɔ - victory. However, this opposite meaning also is not constant in many words like, pɔrakasṭha, pɔrakrɔmɔ, pɔrahɔtɔ, pɔrabhutɔ, pɔramɔrsɔ, pɔradhinɔ, pɔrasɔkti, etc

4. ɔpɔ - The general meaning of this prefix is 'bad' or 'wrong', as in ɔpɔ -cesṭa-bad effort: cesṭa –effort, ɔpɔ -mrutya –violent death: mrutyu – death, etc. Similar segmentable words are, ɔpɔkɔrmɔ, ɔpɔkhyati, ɔpɔprɔyogɔ, ɔpɔbyɔyɔ, ɔpɔmanɔ, ɔpɔbyɔbɔharɔ, ɔpɔjɔsɔ, ɔpɔsɔṅskruti, etc. Some unsegmentable words are, ɔpɔkarɔ, ɔpɔbadɔ, ɔpɔnodɔnɔ, ɔpɔḷapɔ, etc.

5. sɔm – in the meaning of 'with' or 'same', as in, sɔṅḷapɔ - conversation, sɔmbadɔ news, sɔṅgɔti, sɔndhanɔ, sɔṅharɔ, sɔmacarɔ, sɔṅsarɔ, etc. Most of these words are not segmentable in Oriya.

6. nih – This marks the 'negation' of the base. It has been sufficiently naturalized to occur even with some non-Sanskritic Oriya bases. It has four variants, ni, nih, nir and nis-

a. ni-ni-asra – helpless: asra – help, ni-rɔbɔ -silent: rɔbɔ - sound, ni-khojɔ- missing; khoj – to search, niɔṇṭɔ, niɔṅsɔ, nidhɔṛɔkɔ, nisɔṅkhuṛi, nidhɔnɔ, etc

b. nih – this variant occurs only before so initial bases, nih-soṅgo friendless: soṅgo - friend, nih-sobdo -silent: sobdo - noise, nihsostro, nihsondeho, nihsontano, nihsohayo, nihspruho, nihswo, nihswarṭho, nihseso, nihswaso, etc. In most of these words h is silent but in the spelling it is written with a bisorgo.

c. nis- this variant occurs before words starting with voiceless k, p and t and their aspirated counterparts, nis-koṇṭoko - without hindrance: koṇṭoko - thorn, nis-tejo - faint: tejo - glow, niskopoṭo, niskorma, niskoḷoṅko, nispapo, nisphoḷo, nistoroṅgo, nisproyojono, etc.

d. nir – words with this prefix are, nir-okhyoro - illiterate: okhyoro - writing, nir - bhoyo - fearless: bhoyo-fear, niroṅkuso, niropporadho, niropekhyo, niroboyobo, niroḷoso, nirostro, niramiso, nirakaro, niraṛomboro, niraso, nirasroyo, niraharo, niruttoro, niruschaho, niruddeso, nirudbego, nirupayo, nirjoḷo ,nirjono, nirjibo ,nirdoyo, nirdoso, nirdwondwo, nirdhono, nirboṅso, nirbikaro, nirbighno, nirbicaro, nirbibado, nirbudhia, nirmoḷo, nirmuḷo, nirlojjo, etc.

7. odhi – It has no fixed meaning in Oriya and the prefix is rarely segmentable, i.e., odhi - karo - authority, odhisṭhito - established, odhyusito, odhyobosayo, odhyapoko, etc.

8. su – the prefix signifies good, more, satisfactory, etc. su-gondho - pleasant smell: gondho - smell, su-gruhiṇi – efficient house-wife: gruhiṇi – house-wife, sucaru, sujono, supuruso, suputro, subaso, subicaro, etc. In the meaning of 'more' su-dirgho - very long: dirgho long, su-duro - very far: duro - far, suprososto, suprosiddho, suprotisṭhito, etc.

9. duh – generally means 'bad' and 'difficult'. It has three variants, duh, dur and dus-:

a. duh – occurs only befor s-initial words, Ex. duh - somoyo - bad

time: sɔmɔyɔ - time, duh - swɔpnɔ-nightmare: swɔpnɔ - dream, duh-sɔhɔ, duh - sahasɔ, duhsadhyɔ, etc. The h of the prefix is silent but as a compensation the initial s of the base is lengthened in learned speech, i.e., dussɔmɔyɔ, dussahasɔ, etc. In spelling it is written as a 'bisɔrgɔ'.

b. dus – this variant occurs only before words beginning with k,p,c,t and their voiceless aspirated counterparts, i.e., dus-cɔritrɔ - bad character: cɔritrɔ - character, dus – cinta –worries: cinta – thinking, duskɔrmɔ, duskruti, etc.

c. dur – occurs elsewhere, i.e., dur - gɔndhɔ - foul smell: gɔndhɔ smell, dur - ghɔṭɔṇa – accident: ghɔṭɔṇa – incident, durgɔmɔ, durjɔyɔ, durbhabɔna, durniti, durbɔḷɔ, durbhedyɔ, durbhikhyɔ, durgɔti, durbhagyɔ, durjɔnɔ, etc.

10. ut – it means 'ascending', 'going up', 'accidentaly', etc. But the suffix is seldom segmentable as the base words do not occur freely in Oriya, Ex. ut-padɔnɔ production, ut-tɔptɔ - hot, utpatɔ, utkirnɔ, utkhiptɔ, utkɔrsɔ and assimilated uccarɔṇɔ, ucchruṅkhɔḷɔ, ucchahɔ, ucchɔnnɔ, utthitɔ, unnɔtɔ, etc.

It has a phonologically conditioned variant ud- which occurs before voiced stops, i.e., ud-girɔṇɔ - erruption, ud-japɔnɔ - commomoration, udbhidɔ, udgribɔ, udghaṭɔnɔ, uddamɔ, uddhrutɔ, udbhabɔnɔ, etc.

11. ɔti – it signifies 'abundance'. Ex. ɔti-kayɔ -giant: kaya-body, ɔti -rɔnjɔnɔ -exaggeration, ɔtikrɔmɔ, ɔtirikɔ, ɔtindriyɔ etc. The suffix before vowels changes to ɔty -, as in ɔty-ɔdhikɔ - very much, ɔdhikɔ-much, ɔty-utki –exaggeration, ɔtyɔḷpɔ, ɔtyuccɔ, etc.

12. pɔri – it means 'completeness' or 'totality'. Ex. pɔri - dɔrsɔnɔ - visit: dɔrsɔnɔ - seeing, pɔri-sesɔ - conclusion, final: sesɔ -end, pɔrikɔḷpɔna, pɔricaḷɔna, pɔrisrɔmɔ, pɔritruptɔ, pɔripɔkwɔ,

pɔripurnɔ, pɔripɔsɔṇɔ, pɔriprɔcarɔ, pɔribhasa, pɔribhrɔmɔṇɔ, pɔrisɔmapti, pɔrihasɔ, pɔrityagɔ, etc.

13. prɔti –it gives an 'opposite' or 'contrasting' meaning to the base. Ex. prɔti – kriya-reaction: kriya – action, prɔti - dwɔndwi – rival: dwɔndwɔ - fight, prɔtilipi, prɔtisɔbdɔ, prɔtispɔrdha, prɔtihiṅsa, prɔtikuḷɔ, prɔtighatɔ, prɔtidanɔ, prɔtidhwɔni, prɔtinɔmɔskarɔ, prɔtiphɔḷɔ ,prɔtibɔdɔḷɔ, prɔtibɔndhɔ, prɔtibadɔ, prɔtibidhanɔ, prɔtimurti, prɔtirɔkhya, prɔtirodhɔ, etc.

The final i of the prefix changes morphophonemically to y before vowels, i.e., prɔtyasa, prɔtyusɔ ,prɔtyukti, prɔtyuttɔrɔ, etc.

14.ɔbɔ – it means 'in the direction of' or 'going down, descending' etc. Ex. ɔbɔ - rohɔṇɔ - descending: rohɔṇɔ - climb, ɔbɔ-gɔṇɔna –count down: gɔṇɔna – counting, ɔbɔrodhɔ, ɔbɔgahɔnɔ, ɔbɔrodhɔ, ɔbɔliḷa, ɔbɔsesɔ, ɔbɔheḷa, ɔbɔmanɔna, etc. Some of the words which can be segmented by analogy are, ɔbɔsɔnnɔ, ɔbɔsɔrɔ, ɔbɔsadɔ, ɔbɔsanɔ, ɔbɔgyã, ɔbantɔrɔ, etc.

15 ɔbhi – it has no fixed meaning in Oriya but generally indicates 'up, in the direction of, in all directions' etc. Ex. - ɔbhi-sapɔ curse: sapɔ-curse, ɔbhi-neta-actor: neta-leader, ɔbhijatɔ-high born, ɔbhigyɔ, ɔbhidhanɔ, ɔbhibruddhi, ɔbhibyɔkti, ɔbhibhabɔkɔ, ɔbhibhutɔ, ɔbhinɔbɔ, ɔbhinɔndɔnɔ, ɔbhinɔyɔ, ɔbhiprayɔ, ɔbhibadɔnɔ, ɔbhimɔtɔ, ɔbhimanɔ, ɔbhijanɔ, etc. The prefix alternates with ɔbhy – before vowel-initial bases,i.e. ɔbhyɔntɔrɔ, ɔbhyɔstɔ, ɔbhyɔrthɔna,ɔbhyagɔtɔ, ɔbhyudɔyɔ, etc.

16.upɔ - it means generally 'near', 'opposite', 'assistant' or 'low'. Ex. upɔ-hasɔ - redicule: hasɔ-laugh, upɔ-kɔtha-fable: kɔtha-story, upɔjati, upɔpɔti, upɔgrɔhɔ, upakhyanɔ, upasthi, upɔharɔ, upɔbasɔ , upɔkarɔ, upɔsɔmɔ,upɔdrutɔ,upɔcarɔ, upɔḍhɔukɔnɔ, upɔjibyɔ, upɔkɔrɔṇɔ, upɔsthanɔ, upɔmɔntri, upɔdesɔ, etc.

17.ni – it signifies the 'intensity' of action. Ex.ni-daruṇɔ severe:daruṇɔ violent, ni-buj-sealed: buj-closed, nipatɔ, nikrusṭɔ, nibasɔ,niswɔnɔ,nihɔtɔ, nistɔbdhɔ, nimɔgnɔ, etc.

18.a- it generally means 'up, above, a little, till, in the direction of", etc. Ex. a-gɔmɔnɔ coming: gɔmɔnɔ going, a-mɔrɔṇɔ till death: mɔrɔṇɔ-death, abhasɔ, anɔyɔnɔ, akrusṭɔ, akɔrsɔṇɔ, alhadɔ, astha, akrɔmɔṇɔ, akɔṇṭhɔ, ajɔnmɔ, ajanu, ajibɔnɔ, apadɔ, ahimaḷɔyɔ, asɔmudrɔ, etc.

19 ɔntɔh- generally it means 'inside', Ex. ɔntɔh-purɔ ladies' chamber: purɔ -chamber, ɔntɔh-sɔliḷa-flowing inside sɔliḷa- water flow, ɔntɔhsɔtwa, ɔntɔhsarɔ, etc. It has a variant ɔntɔr- which occurs before these bases i.e. ɔntɔr-atma, ɔntɔr-dahɔ, ɔntɔrnihitɔ,ɔntɔrbasɔ, ɔntɔrayɔ,ɔntɔrgɔtɔ, ɔntɔrdhanɔ, ɔntɔrbɔrti, ɔntɔrbhuktɔ, ɔntɔrjami, ɔntɔrhitɔ, etc.

20. ɔpi- it generally means 'inside, outside or near'. But, there are only a few examples in Oriya with this prefix. Ex. ɔpinidhanɔ, ɔpinihitɔ, etc.

21.ɔnu- it means 'in the directions of following', etc. Ex. ɔnu-tapɔ-regret: tapɔ-heat, ɔnu-cɔrɔ follower: cɔrɔ-servant, ɔnugɔtɔ, ɔnubadɔ, ɔnunɔyɔ, ɔnurodhɔ, ɔnujɔ,ɔnukuḷɔ, ɔnumanɔ, ɔnubhɔbɔ,etc.

It has been already said that most of these Sanskrit prefixes or upɔsɔrgɔ do not have specfic meaning in Oriya and most of the words in which these prefixes occur cannot be segmented to 'perfix-base' as many of the bases simply do not occur in Oriya. This proves that the prefixes are generally borrowed into Oriya not as 'morphological processes' but as bound morphemes along with the word. Nevertheless, these complex words are very frequent in 'high' Oriya and they are used as such even in preference to simple words. Therefore, the prefixes

although not productive in Oriya they are usually added to new bases to add 'weightage' –whatever it may mean. For example, gɔṇɔna-counting is an old word in Oriya and now ɔbɔ prefix is added to it to give a 'new' meaning of 'count down'. No doubt many words are now coined in Oriya with these prefixes and are used in the language with ease. But, mostly these words are learned by people more by rote rather than as segmentable elements or as productive processes. Therefore, as yet most of these prefixes do not form a part of the synchronic Oriya grammer. But they can be made 'productive' and may be fruitfully employed in corpus planning of the language. The productive potentiality of such a large number of prefixes with which the native speakers are not unfamiliar can not be simply left to have a 'cosmetic' value. The language planners should take advantage of this as a potential source. Further, more than one prefix may occur with the base in a single word, Ex. duh-sɔm - badɔ - bad news, su-sɔm-badɔ good news, etc. Other words of the same type are, ɔty-a-carɔ, prɔty-upɔ-karɔ, ɔdhy-ɔbɔ-sayɔ, nih-sɔṅ-kocɔ, etc. These are even more 'sterile' loan words as far as Oriya is concerned.

Besides these prefixes there are a few Sanskrit words or morphemes which function like prefixes,

Ex.

1. bɔhih-out side : bɔhiskarɔ-expelled, bɔhirjɔgɔtɔ outer world, etc.
2. purɔh- front facing: purɔskarɔ-prize, purohitɔ-priest, purodha-chief, etc.
3. tirɔh-crooked, vanished, etc.: triɔskarɔ-abuse, tirodhanɔ-passing away,etc.
4. abih-outside, visible: abiskarɔ-discovery, abirbhabɔ-visible, etc.
5. sakhyat-front,: sakhyatkarɔ interview, etc.

6. sɔmɔ-equal: sɔmɔkaḷinɔ-contemporary, sɔmɔbahu, sɔmɔtɔḷɔ, sɔmɔdhɔrmi, sɔmɔbɔyɔsi, sɔmɔbedɔna, etc.
7. sɔrbɔ-all: sɔrbɔgrasi-all consuming, sɔrbɔjɔninɔ, sɔrbɔjaṇɔ, sɔrbɔnasɔ, sɔrbɔprɔdhanɔ,sɔrbɔbyapi,sɔrbɔsresṭhɔ, sɔrbɔsɔmmɔti, sɔrbɔsadharɔṇɔ,sɔrbɔhɔra, etc.
8. sɔhɔ-mutual: sɔhɔbasɔ-cohabitation, sɔhɔcɔrɔ, sɔhɔjatɔ, sɔhɔdhɔrmiṇi, sɔhɔpaṭhi, sɔhɔjogɔ, sɔhodɔrɔ , etc.
9. swɔ-own: swɔdesi-native, swɔnamɔdhɔnyɔ, swɔbhabɔ, swɔrasṭrɔ,swɔrupɔ, etc.
10. sɔt-true : sɔtsɔṅgɔ-good company, sɔdupayɔ, sɔdiccha, sɔtkɔrmɔ, sɔtsahasɔ, sɔtkarɔ, etc.
11. mɔha-large: mɔhakɔbi-greatest poet, mɔhakasɔ, mɔhanɔdi, mɔhapatrɔ, mɔhanidra, mɔhapurusɔ,mɔhabɔḷɔ, mɔhaprɔyaṇɔ, mɔhajɔnɔ, mɔhatma, mɔhadei, mɔhadesɔ, mɔhabidyaḷɔya, mɔhabirɔ,mɔhamanyɔ,mɔhajuddhɔ, mɔhajatra,mɔharɔṇa, mɔharaṇi, mɔharaja, mɔhasuarɔ, etc.
12. punɔh-again: punɔragɔmɔnɔ - coming again, punɔr-bibahɔ, punɔruddharɔ, punɔrutthanɔ, punɔrjɔnmɔ, punɔrjibɔnɔ, punɔrbɔsɔti, punɔrbarɔ, punɔrbicarɔ, punɔrmiḷɔnɔ, etc.

Besides these Sanskrit prefixes there are a few prefixes which occur with Oriya bases or with bases from Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit loans. These are generally productive processes.

Ex.

1. ɔ it gives a negative meaning to the base: ɔ-kɔthyɔ-unspeakable:kɔthyɔ-spoken, ɔ-khyɔmɔ-handicapped: khyɔmɔ-able, ɔkɔpɔṭɔ, ɔkaḷɔ, ɔkḷantɔ. ɔjati, ɔthɔyɔ, ɔdinɔ,ɔdwitiyɔ, ɔdhɔrmɔ, ɔnidra, ɔnyayɔ, ɔpɔdɔsthɔ, ɔpɔdarthɔ, ɔcɔḷɔnti, ɔcetɔ, ɔpɔṛɔ, ɔpaḷɔkɔ, ɔmɔṅgɔ, ɔmania, ɔlɔkhyɔṇa, ɔsɔjɔ,ɔsɔrɔnti,

ɔpɔbitrɔ, ɔpurnɔ, ɔpurbɔ, ɔpɔrichɔnnɔ, ɔpɔriṇɔtɔ,ɔpɔlɔkɔ, ɔpɔriskarɔ, ɔpatrɔ,ɔparthibɔ, ɔpriyɔ, ɔbadhyɔ, ɔbastɔbɔ, ɔbikɔḷɔ, ɔbicarɔ, ɔbidya, ɔbidhi, ɔbiramɔ, ɔbiswasɔ, ɔbeḷa, ɔbɔidhɔ, ɔbadhyɔ, ɔbyɔrthɔ, ɔlɔkhyɔ, ɔbhɔdrɔ,ɔbhinnɔ, ɔmɔṅgɔḷɔ, ɔmɔtɔ,ɔmulyɔ, ɔjɔtnɔ,ɔjɔtha, ɔjogyɔ,ɔrɔsikɔ, ɔruci, ɔsantɔ, ɔsikkhitɔ,ɔsubhɔ, ɔsesɔ, ɔsɔucɔ, ɔsɔti, ɔsundɔrɔ, ɔswikarɔ, ɔswɔsti, ɔspɔsṭɔ, ɔsthirɔ, ɔsɔucɔ, ɔsɔti, ɔsundɔrɔ, ɔswikarɔ, ɔswɔsti, ɔspɔsṭɔ, ɔsthirɔ, ɔsthayi ,ɔsustho, ɔsɔmɔ, ɔsurɔ, ɔsumarɔ, ɔsubidha, ɔsɔntusṭɔ, ɔsɔbhyɔ, ɔsɔmɔ , ɔsɔmɔyɔ, ɔsɔmɔrthɔ, ɔsɔmpurnɔ, ɔsɔmbhɔbɔ, ɔsɔmbhaḷɔ, ɔsɔhayɔ, ɔsɔhisnu, ɔsadhu, ɔsadhyɔ, ɔhitɔ, ɔhiṁsa, etc . The verbal nouns may also be negativised by this prefix, Ex. ɔchuã-noncontagious: chuã- contagious, ɔdekha-unseen: dekha-seeing, ɔbujha, ɔloṛa, ɔphera, ɔcinha, ɔkhia, ɔsɔjɔṛa, ɔkuha, ɔrɔndha, ɔkhoja, etc. This morpheme has two conditioned variants:

Ex.ɔn- it occurs before vowel-intial bases, ɔn-ɔbhigyɔ̃-inexperienced: ɔbhigyɔ̃-experienced,

ɔnɔbhyɔstɔ, ɔnacarɔ, ɔnabrutɔ, ɔnarjyɔ, ɔnaharɔ, ɔniccha, ɔnucitɔ, ɔnabiḷɔ, ɔnadɔrɔ, ɔnɔdhikarɔ, ɔnudarɔ, ɔnisṭɔ, ɔnunnɔtɔ, ɔnupɔjuktɔ, ɔnekɔ, etc.

The other variant ɔṇɔ- occurs before these bases,

Ex. ɔṇɔ-ɔṛia –non-Oriya: ɔṛia-Oriya, ɔṇɔayɔttɔ, ɔṇɔleuṭa, ɔṇɔhɔḷɔdia, ɔṇɔbabua, ɔṇɔosaria, etc.

2. duh-it means 'bad' or 'unfortunate'. It has two variants, dus-, and dur-. Ex. duh-sɔmɔyɔ-bad times: sɔmɔyɔ-time, dus-prapyɔ not easily available: prapyɔ-available, duscɔritrɔ, durbhabɔna, etc.

3. ku-it means 'bad'or 'evil', Ex. ku-kɔrmɔ bad deed: kɔrmɔ work, kukhyati, kuputrɔ, kusɔṅskarɔ, kupɔriṇamɔ, kucɔkrantɔ, etc.

4. sɔ-it is used in the sense of 'with', Ex. sɔ-phɔḷɔ successful: phɔḷɔ result, sɔbɔrnɔ, sɔbinɔyɔ, sɔbisesɔ, sɔbistarɔ, sɔbhɔkti, sɔsɔbdɔ, sɔsɔstrɔ, sɔsrɔmɔ, sɔsɔmmanɔ, sɔsnehɔ, sɔhrudɔyɔ, sɔcetɔnɔ, sɔjɔḷɔ, sɔjibɔ, sɔjorɔ, sɔdɔyɔ, etc.
5. bɔd-it means 'bad', Ex. bɔd-ɔbhyasɔ -bad habit: ɔbhyasɔ-habit, bɔdkhor, bɔdguṇɔ, bɔdnam, bɔdhɔjɔm, bɔdminjas, bɔdkhɔrci, etc.
6. be- it is used in the sense of 'opposite', Ex. be-sɔrɔm-shameless, sɔrɔm-shame,besamɔrikɔ non-military, besura, besɔrkari, behisabi, behusiar, behos, beṭaim, bedɔm, beḍhɔṅgɔ , bejit (beijjɔt), berɔsikɔ , etc.
7. dɔrɔ -it means 'half' or 'less', Ex. dɔrɔ-pacila-half ripe: pacila-ripe. dɔrɔkhɔṇḍia, dɔrɔkhia, dɔrɔpoṛa, dɔrɔbikɔsitɔ, dɔrɔbuḍha, dɔrɔsijha, etc.
8. do- it is used in the sense of 'two', Ex. do-tala-two-storied: tala-floor, dokena, doghei, docari, dochɔki, donabuṛia, domuṇḍia, dophɔsɔli, domasi, domuhã, dorɔndha, dorɔsa, etc.
9. na- it is a negative marker, Ex. na-mɔnjur-not sanctioned: mɔnjur-sanction, nabaḷɔkɔ , naraj, napɔsɔnd, etc.
10. heḍ- it is an English word meaning 'head' or 'chief', Ex. heḍ-masṭɔr-head-master, masṭɔr-teacher, heḍkwaṭɔr, heḍsar, heḍpiɔn, etc.
11. sɔb- it is an English prefix meaning 'assistant', Ex. sɔb-kɔlekṭɔr-sub-collector: kɔlekṭɔr-magistrate, sɔbeḍiṭɔr, sɔbsṭesɔn, sɔbṭrejeri, sɔbrejisṭrar, etc.

12.haph- it is an English word meaning 'half', Ex. haph-ṭaim-interval: ṭaim-time, haph pyanṭ- half pants, shorts, haphṭikɔṭ-half- ṭicketṭ, etc.

4.5.2

After the prefixes which are main word-formatives in Oriya, the suffixes may be dealt in this section as there are no infixes in Oriya. The suffixes like prefixes which occur with nominal bases also fall into two types: suffixes from Sanskrit sources occur only with Sanskrit bases and others after non-Sanskrit or derived bases. The listing may start with the gender markers. It has been said earlier that except some animate nouns, the nouns are not marked for gender. In fact, Oriya does not have a grammatical gender but some words are differentiated in terms of male and female. In some cases, the difference is marked lexically like, pita-father-mata-mother, sɔṇḍhɔ - bull –gai-cow, gɔnja-cock-peṇṭhi – hen, etc. A few other nouns take adjectives like, ɔṇḍira – male, mai-female to mark the gender, i.e., ɔnḍira kukurɔ-male dog-mai kukurɔ - female dog, ɔṇḍira gɔchɔ - male tree – mai gɔchɔ - female tree, etc. Other words are differentiated by morphological processes like, ṭoka- young man - ṭoki – young girl, baḷɔkɔ - boy-baḷika – girl, baghɔ - tiger-baghuṇi– tigress, etc.

The morphologically modified forms are roughly of nine types and the male forms serve as base forms from which the female forms are derived. For exhaustive listing of these words, see the section 4.1.3 on Gender.

Ex (i)

1. final vowel ɔ →i, when female,

   ɔsurɔ - ɔsuri/ ɔsuruṇi– demon

iswɔr - iswɔri –god

mɔyurɔ - mɔyuri – peacock, etc.

2. final vowel a→i, when female,

kapta – kapti – dove

ola – oli – fool, etc.

3. final vowels ua→oi , when female,

pakua – pakoi – toothless

paṭhua - paṭhoi – learned, etc

4. a number of i – ending nouns take –ni suffix when female-

bɔndi - bɔndini – prisoner

prɔtibesi - prɔtibesini – neighbour, etc

5. a number of words take -ṇi suffix, when female. It has three variants, -aṇi, -uṇi and -iaṇi,

oṛia - oṛiaṇi – an Oriya man

corɔ - coroṇi - thief

ḍaktɔr - ḍaktɔraṇi – doctor

sa:ntɔ - sa:ntaṇi- master

baghɔ - baghuṇi – tiger

sɔrdar - sɔrdariaṇi – chief

pɔṇḍa - pɔṇḍiaṇi – priest, etc.

6. final ɔ →a, when female,

premikɔ - premika – lover

pɔricitɔ - pɔricita – known, etc.

7. final ɔkɔ→ ika, when female,

baḷɔkɔ - baḷika – boy

lekhɔkɔ - lekhika – writer, etc.

8. final a → ri, when female,

   neta – netri – leader

   ɔdhisṭhata - ɔdhisṭhatri – presiding, etc.

9. final –ban → bɔti, when female,

   bhɔgɔban - bhɔgɔbɔti – god

   guṇɔban - guṇɔbɔti – gifted, etc.

10. final –man → mɔti, when female,

    buddhiman - buddhimɔti – intelligent

    sriman - srimɔti – mister, etc.

11. final bɔntɔ → bɔnti, when female,

    guṇɔbɔntɔ - guṇɔbɔnti – gifted

    dhɔrmɔbɔntɔ - dhɔrmɔbɔnti – pious, etc.

12. A second branch of the Oriya gender is the opposition between large and small. This process is limited only to a few inanimate nouns,

    final vowel → i, when small

    ghɔṛa - ghɔṛi – earthen vessel

    ḍɔṅka - ḍɔṅki – ladle, etc

(ii) –ta. This suffix is added to adjectives to form nouns. The morphological process is limited to Sanskrit loans only,

Ex. 1. durɔ - distant : durɔ -ta – distance

gɔbhirɔ - deep : gɔbhirɔ - ta –depth

Other examples are, ɔgyɔ̃ , ɔdhinɔ, ɔbadhyɔ, ɔbhɔdrɔ, akuḷɔ, atmiyɔ, antɔrikɔ, abɔsyɔkɔ, ardrɔ, ugrɔ, uccɔ, kɔṭu, kɔṭhorɔ, krurɔ, khiprɔ, gramyɔ, ghɔnisṭhɔ, tɔtpɔrɔ, tɔnmɔyɔ, tiktɔ, tibrɔ, dɔkhyɔ, dambhikɔ, druḍhɔ, nɔgnɔ, nikrusṭɔ, nibiṛɔ, nirɔbɔ, niriho, nirjɔnɔ, nirjibɔ, nirmɔḷɔ, nisṭhurɔ, nistɔbdhɔ, nicɔ, nutɔnɔ, nrusɔn̈sɔ. nyunɔ, pɔkwɔ,

pɔkhyɔpati, pɔṅgu, pɔṭu, pɔbitrɔ, pɔradhinɔ, pɔrichɔnnɔ, parɔdɔrsi, purnɔ, prɔkaṇḍɔ, prɔkhɔrɔ, prɔbhu, prɔsɔnnɔ, bɔdanyɔ, bɔdhirɔ, bɔndhu, bɔrbɔrɔ, bagmi, bacaḷɔ, bicchinɔ, bigyɔ̃, biḷasi, bisɔnnɔ, bihwɔḷɔ, bibhɔschɔ, byɔgrɔ, byɔrthɔ, byɔstɔ, bhɔdrɔ, mɔnusyɔ, mɔmɔ, mɔḷinɔ, madɔkɔ, mitrɔ, mɔuḷikɔ, sɔtru, sikhyɔkɔ, sisṭɔ, sitɔḷɔ, subhrɔ, suskɔ, sukhmɔ, sresṭhɔ , etc.

An alternative to this process is also used by morphophonemically changing the base with an -yɔ suffix in place of –ta. For example, the base word ekɔ - one, may take –ta suffix and becomes ekɔta – oneness or alternatively, ekɔ-yɔ becomes morphophonemically, ɔikyɔ - oneness, etc. Similarly,

ujwɔḷɔ - bright → aujɔlyɔ/ujwɔḷɔta – 'brightness'. Other examples of this alternative process are, udasinɔ-audasinyɔ ,ɔdhikɔ - adhikyɔ, ɔnugɔtɔ - anugɔtyɔ, kɔruṇa - karunyɔ, krupɔṇɔ - karpɔnyɔ, uddhɔtɔ - audhɔtyɔ, cɔncɔḷɔ - cancɔlyɔ, cɔturɔ - caturjyɔ, cɔpɔḷɔ - capɔlyɔ, kɔṭhinɔ - kaṭhinyɔ, kɔpɔṭɔ - kapɔṭyɔ, gɔmbhirɔ - gambhirjyɔ, jɔṛɔ -jaḍyɔ, tɔrɔḷɔ - tarɔlyɔ, dɔridrɔ - daridryɔ, dinɔ - dɔinyɔ, dirghɔ - dɔirghyɔ, durbɔḷɔ - dɔurbɔlyɔ, dhirɔ - dhɔirjyɔ, nikɔṭɔ - nɔikɔṭyɔ, nipuṇɔ - nɔipunyɔ, prɔcurɔ - pracurjyɔ, bɔhuḷɔ - bahulyɔ, bɔschɔḷɔ - baschɔlyɔ, bicitrɔ - bɔicitryɔ, biphɔḷɔ - bɔiphɔlyɔ, sɔṭhɔ - saṭhyɔ, sithiḷɔ - sɔithilyɔ, mɔdhurɔ - madhurjyɔ, etc.

(iii) -ikɔ. This is also a suffix from Sanskrit. It has two distinct functions: it changes nouns to adjectives and it gives the meaning of a 'doer' to the noun. Noun bases which occur before this suffix undergo morphonemic changes, i.e.,

1.initial (C) ɔ → (C)a

2.initial (C) i, e → (C) ɔi

3.initial (C) u,o → (C) ɔu

4.initial (C) a words do not undergo any change.

Ex. 1. ɔn̓sɔ - share → an̓sikɔ - partially, ɔkhyɔrɔ - akhyɔrikɔ, ɔncɔḷɔ -ancɔḷikɔ, ɔnupatɔ - anupatikɔ, ɔnumanɔ-anumanikɔ, ɔnusṭhanɔ-anusṭhanikɔ, ɔrthɔ-arthikɔ, ɔsurɔ-asurikɔ, kɔḷpɔna-kaḷpɔnikɔ, gɔṇitɔ -gaṇitikɔ, cɔritrɔ-caritrikɔ, tɔntrɔ-tantrikɔ, tɔtwɔ -tatwikɔ, prɔmaṇɔ-pramaṇikɔ,prɔthɔmɔ-prathɔmikɔ, ɔṇu-aṇɔbikɔ, prɔdesɔ-pradesikɔ, prɔkruti-prakrutikɔ, pɔribarɔ-paribarikɔ, pɔkhyɔ-pakhyikɔ, pɔsu-pasɔbikɔ, bɔrsɔ-barsikɔ, pɔrisrɔmɔ-parisrɔmikɔ, pɔrɔmpɔra-parɔmpɔrikɔ, pɔribhasa-paribhasikɔ, jɔbɔnɔ-jabɔnikɔ, sɔriɔ-sariɔikɔ, sɔn̓ketɔ-san̓ketikɔ, sɔn̓sarɔ-san̓sarikɔ, pɔrɔspɔrɔ-parɔspɔrikɔ, jɔntrɔ-jantrikɔ, etc.

2. iccha-wish→ ɔichikɔ-wishful, ihɔ-ɔihikɔ,niti-nɔitikɔ, dinɔ-dɔinikɔ, pisacɔ-pɔisacikɔ, bidesɔ-bɔidesikɔ, bibahɔ-bɔibahikɔ, bisɔyɔ-bɔisɔyikɔ, etc.

3. bhutɔ-ghost→ bhɔutikɔ-ghostly, mukhɔ-mɔukhikɔ, muḷɔ-mɔuḷikɔ, jukti-jɔuktikɔ, puraṇɔ-pɔuraṇikɔ, jogɔ-jɔugikɔ, lokɔ-lɔukikɔ, etc.

4. kaya-body→ kay-ikɔ-bodily, manɔbɔ-manɔbikɔ, manɔsɔ-manɔsikɔ, etc.

In the 'doer' meaning of the suffix, the examples are,itihasɔ-history→ ɔitihasikɔ-historian, historical; dɔrsɔnɔ-darsɔnikɔ, upɔnyasɔ-ɔupɔnyasikɔ, gɔḷpɔ-gaḷpikɔ, tɔntrɔ-tantrikɔ, tɔrkɔ-tarkikɔ, dhɔrmɔ-dharmikɔ, gɔṇitɔ-gaṇitikɔ, nɔgɔrɔ-nagɔrikɔ, bigyanɔ-bɔigyanikɔ, bimanɔ -bɔimanikɔ, bhugoḷɔ-bhɔugoḷikɔ, sɔmbadɔ-sambadikɔ, indrɔjalɔ-ɔindrɔjalikɔ, etc.

(iv)-tɔ/-itɔ. It is a Sanskrit suffix and is added mainly to nouns to form adjectives. Another important function it has in Oriya is to make passive verbs from active verbs with the addition of kɔriba and heba subsidiary verbs respectively,

Ex.

1. mũ taṅkɔrɔ upɔkarɔ kɔr-ichi
   I his benefit do-have

I have benefited him.

se mo dwara upɔkrutɔ ho-ichi

he me by benefitted become

He has become benefitted by me.

2. ramɔ rabɔṇɔ-ku pɔrajɔyɔ kɔr-ithile

Rama Rabana-to defeat did

Rama defeated Rabana.

rabɔṇɔ ramɔ-ṅkɔ dwara pɔrajitɔ ho-ithila

Rabana Rama by defeated was

Rabana was defeated by Rama.

These examples show that nouns like upɔkarɔ and pɔrajɔyɔ with the addition of kɔriba subsidiary verb are used in active sentences and with heba in passive. Besides, the suffix also makes morphophonemic changes in the bases as in pɔrajɔyɔ /pɔrajitɔ, upɔkarɔ /upɔkrutɔ, etc. Other examples of the same process are, ɔdhikarɔ /ɔdhikrutɔ,cinhɔ / cinhitɔ, ɔtyacarɔ/ɔtyacaritɔ,ɔnubadɔ/ɔnubaditɔ, ɔbhinɔyɔ/ɔbhinitɔ, ɔbhijogɔ/ɔbhijuktɔ, ɔbhisapɔ/ɔbhisɔptɔ, ɔdhisṭhanɔ/ɔdhisṭhitɔ, ɔbhyasɔ /ɔbhyɔstɔ, ɔnusṭhanɔ/ɔnusṭhitɔ, ɔbhisekɔ/ɔbhisiktɔ, upɔdrɔbɔ/ upɔdrutɔ, udjapɔnɔ/udjapitɔ, uccarɔṇɔ/uccaritɔ, uddharɔ/udhrutɔ, udghaṭɔnɔ/ udghaṭitɔ, cikischa/cikischitɔ,citrɔ/citritɔ ,caḷɔnɔ/caḷitɔ, nikhyepɔ/ nikkhiptɔ, ninda/ninditɔ, nirbacɔnɔ/ nirbacitɔ, pɔṭhɔnɔ/ pɔṭhitɔ, pɔrityagɔ/ pɔrityɔktɔ, pɔriskarɔ/pɔriskrutɔ, purɔskarɔ/purɔskrutɔ, byɔbɔharɔ/ byɔbɔhrutɔ, sɔmalocɔna/sɔmalocitɔ, kɔbɔḷɔ/kɔbɔḷitɔ, kɔrsɔṇɔ/ kɔrsitɔ,ɔnutapɔ/ɔnutɔptɔ, gɔṭhɔnɔ/gɔṭhitɔ, ghosɔṇa/ghositɔ, tirɔskarɔ/ tirɔskrutɔ, bɔhiskarɔ / bɔhiskrutɔ, akrɔmɔṇɔ/akrɔmitɔ, acchadɔnɔ/ acchaditɔ, atɔṅkɔ/atɔṅkitɔ, alokɔ/alokitɔ, alocɔna/alocitɔ, aloṛɔnɔ/ aloṛitɔ, uschahɔ/uschahitɔ, utpadɔnɔ/utpaditɔ, kɔṇṭɔkɔ/kɔṇṭɔkitɔ, etc.

(v) -i. This suffix is used with Sanskrit, Oriya and foreign loan words with equal ease. It is used in two senses, first, as a 'possessor'

like, uschahɔ-enthusiasm'/uschahi-enthusiasist, and second, as 'having the quality of', like, luṇɔ-salt→ luṇi - salted, etc. Grammatically, it forms adjectives from nouns.

Ex.

1. With the meaning of 'actor'. khuṇ-murder/khuṇi-murderer, biswasɔ/biswasi, udyɔmɔ/udyɔmi, upɔkarɔ/upɔkari, asa/asayi, kɔpɔṭɔ/kɔpɔṭi, khɔmarɔ/khɔmari, khɔrɔ/khɔrci, khial/khiali, gɔrbɔ/gɔrbi, gumanɔ/gumani, casɔ/casi, japan/japani, siḷpɔ/siḷpi, kɔrmɔ/kɔrmi, telɔ/teli, dɔptɔr/dɔptɔri, duarɔ/duari, dukhɔ/dukhi, dosɔ/dosi, dhɔnɔ/dhɔni, pɔnjab/pɔnjabi, pɔrɔdesɔ/pɔrɔdesi, pɔrakrɔmɔ/pɔrakrɔmi, pɔrisrɔmɔ/pɔrisrɔmi, papɔ/papi, pɔropɔkarɔ/pɔropɔkari, bɔjarɔ/bɔjari, bɔdragɔ/bɔdragi, prɔbasɔ/ prɔbasi, bɔnɔbasɔ/bɔnɔbasi, bigyanɔ/bigyani, bidesɔ/ bidesi, bidrohɔ/bidrohi, binɔyɔ/binɔyi, bipḷɔbɔ/bipḷɔbi, birɔhɔ/ birɔhi, biḷasɔ/biḷasi, beparɔ/bepari, bɔiragɔ/bɔiragi, byɔbɔsayɔ/ byɔbɔsayi, mɔujɔ/mɔuji, mɔunɔ/mɔuni, jatra/jatri, jogɔ/ jogi, rɔkhya/rɔkkhi, ragɔ/ragi, lobhɔ/lobhi, sastrɔ/sastri, ɔpɔradhɔ/ ɔpɔradhi, ɔpɔbyɔyɔ/ɔpɔbyɔyi, ɔbhimanɔ/ɔbhimani, kɔusɔḷɔ/ kɔusɔḷi, kusɔḷɔ/kusɔḷi, kucɔkrɔ/kucɔkri, gyanɔ/gyani, nibasɔ/ nibasi, nepaḷɔ/nepaḷi, sɔndehɔ/sɔndehi, sɔndhanɔ/sɔndhani, sɔnjɔmɔ/sɔnjɔmi, sɔṅsarɔ/sɔṅsari, sɔnyasɔ/sɔnyasi, sɔmbɔndhɔ/ sɔmbɔndhi, etc.
2. In the sense of 'having the quality'. unnɔtɔ -developed→unnɔti-development, bhɔktɔ -devotee→bhɔkti-devotion, khyatɔ /khyati, kɔbirajɔ /kɔbiraji, kɔmisɔn/kɔmisɔni, karigɔrɔ /karigɔri, khosamɔt/khosamɔti, jɔmidar/jɔmidari, cɔlak/cɔlaki, ḍaktɔr/ ḍaktɔri, dɔlal/dɔlali, prɔstutɔ/prɔstuti, hɔjɔm/hɔjmi, bɔdnam/ bɔdnami,bɔdmas/bɔdmasi, baristɔr/baristɔri, bahadur/bahaduri, bikrutɔ /bikruti, birɔktɔ/birɔkti, bilat/bilati, buniad/buniadi, benam/ benami, bhɔdrɔlokɔ/ bhɔdrɔloki, bhitɔrɔ/ bhitɔri, muktɔ/ mukti,

bhrantɔ/bhranti, mɔkhɔmɔl/mɔkhɔmɔli,mɔjdur/mɔjduri, mɔhajɔnɔ /mɔhajɔni, jɔjɔmanɔ/ jɔjɔmani, resɔm/resɔmi,santɔ/ santi, kabul/ kabuli, oṛisa/oṛisi,golapɔ/ golapi, badam/badami,nɔbab/nɔbabi, nabaḷɔkɔ/nabaḷɔki, narɔṅgɔ/narɔṅgi, suddhɔ/suddhi, sɔitan/ sɔitani, sɔmmɔtɔ/sɔmmɔti, etc.

(vi) -iyɔ. It forms ajectives from underlying bases meaning several things like, 'relationship', 'belonging to or pertaining to', etc.

Ex.

bharɔtɔ-Inḍia→bharɔtiyɔ-Indian, jati-nation→jatiyɔ -national, swɔrgɔ-heaven→swɔrgiyɔ -heavenly, yurop/yuropiyɔ, utkɔḷɔ /utkɔḷiyɔ, esia/esiyɔ, bɔṅgɔ / bɔṅgiyɔ, kendrɔ /kendriyɔ, khriṣtɔ / khriṣtiyɔ, gyas /gyasiyɔ, desɔ /desiyɔ, baspɔ /baspiyɔ, bhɔnjɔ /bhɔnjiyɔ, sastrɔ/sastriyɔ, sthanɔ/sthaniyɔ, iswɔrɔ / iswɔriyɔ, dibɔsɔ /dibɔsiyɔ, dɔrsɔnɔ /dɔrsɔniyɔ, naṭɔkɔ / naṭɔkiyɔ, nɔrɔkɔ /narɔkiyɔ, pɔrbɔtɔ /parbɔtiyɔ, pujɔnɔ / pujɔniyɔ, sobhɔnɔ / sobhɔniyɔ, gopɔnɔ / gopɔniyɔ, etc.

(vii) -twɔ. It is a suffix which occurs mainly with Sanskrit bases, meaning 'having the quality or power of"

Ex.

prɔbhu-lord→prɔbhutwɔ -lordship, matru-mother → matrutwɔ -motherhood, indrɔ /indrɔtwɔ, kɔbi/kɔbitwɔ, kɔrtru/ kɔrtrutwɔ, netru,neta/netrutwɔ, puruso /purusɔtwɔ, birɔ / birɔtwɔ, byɔkti/byɔktitwɔ, mɔṇisɔ /mɔṇisɔtwɔ, mɔntri/ mɔntritwɔ, pitru,pita/pitrutwɔ, bhatru,bhrata/bhatrutwɔ, rajɔ/ rajɔtwɔ, sisyɔ /sisyɔtwɔ,sɔti/sɔtitwɔ, stri/stritwɔ, dasɔ/ dasɔtwɔ, bɔndhu/bɔndhutwɔ, guru/gurutwɔ, dayi/dayitwɔ, hindu/hindutwɔ, etc.

(viii) -tɔh. It is a suffix occurring mainly with Sanskrit words giving an adverbial menaing –ly, or 'because of'

Ex. mukhyɔ -main→mukhyɔtɔh-mainly, phɔḷɔ -result→phɔḷɔtɔh/ as a result of, bisesɔ/ bisesɔtɔh, swɔ/swɔtɔh, prɔthɔmɔ/ prɔthɔmɔtɔh, ain/ainɔtɔh, prɔdhanɔ/prɔdhanɔtɔh, bɔstu/ bɔstutɔh, sɔmbhɔbɔ /sɔmbhɔbɔtɔh, sadharɔṇɔ /sadharɔṇɔtɔh, etc.

(ix). -sat. It is an infrequent suffix meaning 'totally'

Ex. dhuḷi-dust→ dhuḷisat-totally powdered, i.e. destroyed, atmɔ -own→atmɔsat -totally owned, etc.

(x) -sthɔ. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'place'or 'location'

Ex. patrɔ-bride-groom→ patrɔsthɔ-given in marriage, dhyanɔ - meditation→dhyanɔsthɔ -in a state of meditation, mukhɔ/ mukhɔsthɔ, kɔṇṭhɔ/kɔṇṭhɔsthɔ, mɔnɔ /mɔnɔsthɔ, prɔkruti/ prɔkrutisthɔ, mɔdhyɔ /mɔdhyɔsthɔ, dwarɔ /dwarɔsthɔ, pɔdɔ /pɔdɔsthɔ,pɔkeṭ/pɔkeṭɔsthɔ, etc.

(xi) - jɔ, It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'born' or 'produced'

Ex. jɔḷɔ-water→ jɔḷɔjɔ -born from water, ɔṇḍɔ -egg→ ɔṇḍɔjɔ - born from egg, ɔgrɔ/ɔgrɔjɔ, khɔṇi/khɔṇijɔ, pɔṅkɔ/pɔṅkɔjɔ, desɔ/desɔjɔ, ɔmbu/ɔmbujɔ, mɔnɔ/ mɔnojɔ, bɔṅsɔ/bɔṅsɔjɔ, bɔnɔ/bɔnɔjɔ, atmɔ/atmɔjɔ etc.

(xii) -gyɔ̃. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'knowing' or 'knowledgeable, expert',

Ex. sɔrbɔ -all→ sɔrbɔgyɔ̃-all knowing, bisesɔ -special→ bisesɔgyɔ̃-specialist, expert, dɔibɔ/dɔibɔgyɔ̃, trikaḷɔ / trikaḷɔgyɔ̃, ain/ainɔgyɔ̃, etc.

(xiii) -aktɔ. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'covered',

Ex. rɔktɔ-blood→ rɔktaktɔ-bloody, bisɔ-poison→ bisaktɔ- poisonous, ghɔrmɔ /ghɔrmaktɔ, kḷedɔ /kḷedaktɔ, tɔiḷɔ / tɔiḷaktɔ, etc.

(xiv) -ima. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'having the quality of',

Ex. rɔktɔ -blood→rɔktima-blood coloured, bɔṛɔ-big→ bɔṛima-pride, greatness, rɔṅgɔ/rɔṅgima, lal/lalima, kaḷi/kaḷima, ɔruṇɔ/ ɔruṇima, bhɔṅgi/bhɔṅgima, etc.

(xv). -aḷu. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'in excess',

Ex. dɔya-kindness→ dɔyaḷu-kind, bhɔyɔ-fear→ bhɔyaḷu-coward, srɔddha/srɔddhaḷu, nidra/nidraḷu, tɔndra/tɔndraḷu, etc.

(xvi) -abhɔ. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'tinted',

Ex. rɔktɔ-blood→ rɔktabhɔ-red tinted, swɔrnɔ-gold→ swɔrnabhɔ -golden, swetɔ /swetabhɔ, dhumɔ /dhumabhɔ, etc.

(xvii) -ḷɔ. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'saturation',

Ex. ɔsru-tears→ ɔsruḷɔ-tearful, grɔnthi-knot→ grɔnthiḷɔ-knotty, chɔbi/chɔbiḷɔ,paṅsu/ paṅsuḷɔ, phɔgu/phɔguḷɔ, maṅsɔ / maṅsɔḷɔ, mrudu/mruduḷɔ, sira/siraḷɔ, singhɔ/singhaḷɔ, rɔsɔ / rɔsaḷɔ , etc .

(xviii) -kɔrɔ. It is a Sanskrit suffix meaning 'having the quality of',

Ex. ruci-taste→ rucikɔrɔ-tasty, sukhɔ-happiness→ sukhɔkɔrɔ-pleasant, trupti/truptikɔrɔ,mugdhɔ/mugdhɔkɔrɔ, hasyɔ / hasyɔkɔrɔ, kɔsṭɔ /kɔsṭɔkɔrɔ, etc.

(xix) -kɔrɔ /karɔ. It is a Sanskrit suffix with its Oriya variant-karɔ, meaning 'doer'

Ex. jadu- magic→ jadukɔrɔ -magician, ṭika-commentary→ ṭikakarɔ -commentator, giti/gitikarɔ, citrɔ /citrɔkarɔ, kɔtha/ kɔthakarɔ, badyɔ/badyɔkarɔ, beṇṭɔ/beṇṭɔkarɔ, mudra/ mudrakɔrɔ, mamɔlɔtɔ /mamɔlɔtɔkarɔ, caṭu/caṭukarɔ, swɔrnɔ/ swɔrnɔkarɔ, etc.

(xx) -tɔrɔ. It ia used as a suffix denoting the 'comparative' meaning.

Ex. bruhɔt-big→ bruhɔttɔrɔ -bigger, uccɔ -high→ uccɔtɔrɔ -higher, druḍhɔ /druḍhɔtɔrɔ, khyudrɔ /khyudrɔtɔrɔ, etc.

(xxi) - tɔmɔ. It is used as a suffix denoting 'superlative' meaning,

Ex. bruhɔt-large→ bruhɔttɔmɔ -largest, khyudrɔ-small→ khyudrɔtɔmɔ-smallest, uccɔ/uccɔ-tɔmɔ , etc.

(xxii) - ntɔ. It means 'having the quality of',

Ex. jibɔ-life→ jibɔntɔ -live, ghumɔ /ghumɔntɔ, uṛa/ uṛɔntɔ , jwaḷa-jwɔḷɔntɔ, etc.

(xiii) -saḷi. It means 'possession'

Ex. bɔḷɔ-strength→bɔḷɔsaḷi-powerful, tejɔ/tejɔsaḷi, etc.

(xxiv) -siḷɔ . It means 'having the quality of',

Ex. lɔjja-shame→ lɔjjasiḷɔ -shy, rɔkhyɔṇɔ -conserving→ rɔkhyɔ -ṇɔsiḷɔ -conservative, prɔgɔti/prɔgɔtisiḷɔ , bikasɔ/bikasɔsiḷɔ, etc.

(xxv) -mɔyɔ . It means 'all pervading'.

Ex. sukhɔ -happiness→ sukhɔmɔyɔ -joyous, dukkhɔ - sorrow→dukkhɔmɔyɔ -full of unhappiness, pɔdyɔ /pɔdyɔ-mɔyɔ , gɔdyɔ /gɔdyɔ mɔyɔ , etc.

(xxvi) -trɔ . It means 'place, station'.

Ex. ekɔ -one→ ekɔtrɔ -together, sɔrbɔ -all→ sɔrbɔtrɔ -every where, etc.

(xxvii)-dha, it means 'layer',

Ex. bɔhu-many→ bɔhudha-manifold, dwi/dwidha, tri/ tridha, etc.

(xxviii)-swi. It means 'possessing',

Ex. tejɔ-glow→ tejɔswi-luminous, tɔpɔ-meditation→ tɔpɔswi-sage, jɔsɔ/jɔsɔswi, etc.

Although most of these suffixes are limited to Sanskrit loan words, one may find a few examples in which the suffixes are forming new

words with non-Sanskritic bases. These suffixes too are not productive in Oriya and are very rarely used in spoken language and by ordinary speakers. Further, many of these suffixes are not strictly speaking a part of noun morphology, as many occur with adjectives or other word classes. Yet, we have listed these suffixes here, strictly from their function in Oriya rather than the source language,i.e. Sanskrit and secondly because of their high frequency in modern 'learned' Oriya both 'spoken' and 'written'. These are gradually getting more 'naturalised' and gaining wide acceptability among 'users', who are not necessarily the old 'traditional' types. We observe with some satisfaction that many of these affixes have a 'future' in the modern Oriya language.

Besides these Sanskrit markers, there are a few other suffixes which occur mostly with Oriya bases and other non-Sanskrit bases,

Ex.(i)- a/-ia/ua. This suffix is mainly added to nouns to form adjectives meaning 'possession' or 'having the property of',

1. geru-ochre→ gerua-saffron coloured, kaduɔ -mud→kadua-muddy, kɔ̃ithɔ /kɔ̃itha, aṇthu/aṇthua, kɔḷi/kɔḷia, galu/galua, chɔu/ chɔua, kuruṇḍɔ /kuruṇḍa, godɔrɔ /godɔra, ḍholɔ/ ḍhola, dhɔĩ/ dhɔĩa, dhuḷi/dhuḷia, dhoi/dhoia/dhoya, paḷi/paḷia, pɔscimɔ / pɔscima, paku/pakua, bhalu/bhalua, bai/baia/baya, mai/maia/ maya, bali/balia, mɔhuri/mɔhuria, maṭi/maṭia, mɔjuri/mɔjuria, dantɔ/dɔnta, mɔjhi/mɔjhiã, mɔnji/mɔnjia, kuhuṛi/kuhuṛia, goḷi/ goḷia, guṇi/guṇia, cɔuki/cɔukia, cakiri/cakiria, cakhuṇi/cakhuṇia, cuguli/cugulia, cuṭi/cuṭia, sɔru/sɔrua, jati/jatia, cuṁguṛi/cuṁguṛia, tɔṇṭi/tɔṇṭia, dɔuṛi/dɔuṛia, daḍhi/daḍhia, budhi/budhia, beli/belia, mɔrɔhoṭi/mɔrɔhoṭia, ghusuri/ghusuria, caḷis/caḷisa, etc.
2. The variant –ia occurs with following words. ɔndharɔ - darkness→-ɔndharia-dark, osarɔ -width→ osaria-wide, ɔdinɔ/ ɔdinia, ambulɔ /ambulia, ekɔghɔrɔ/ ekɔghɔria, ekɔjidi/ekɔjidia,

ojɔnɔ/ ojɔnia, osɔdɔ/osɔdia, kɔ̃:ḷɔ/kɔ̃:ḷia, kɔpɔṭɔ/ kɔpɔṭia, kɔpaḷɔ/ kɔpaḷia, kirtɔnɔ /kirtɔnia, kɔutukɔ /kɔutukia, khɔirɔ/ khɔiria, khɔdɔṛɔ /khɔdɔṛia, khosamɔtɔ /khosamɔtia, gɔndhɔ /gɔndhia, guṛɔ /guṛia,jɔṅghɔ /jɔṅghia, jɔṭɔ/ jɔṭia, juarɔ /juaria, cikɔṇɔ / cikɔṇia, ḍorɔ /ḍoria, tɔrɔtɔrɔ/ tɔrɔtɔria, thɔṇṭɔ/ thɔṇṭia, di:pɔhɔrɔ /di:pɔhɔria, ḍudhɔ/ dudhia, deuḷɔ/deuḷia, pahaṛɔ/pahaṛia, paũsɔ / paũsia, pɔthɔrɔ/ pɔthuria, barudɔ / barudia, bamhuṇɔ/ bamhuṇia, maũsɔ/ maũsia, masṭɔr/masṭɔria, masṭria, mulɔ/ mulia, mɔujɔ/ mɔujia, mɔdhurɔ/ mɔdhuria, mɔphɔsɔlɔ/ mɔphɔsɔlia, luṇɔ / luṇia, rɔsuṇɔ/ rɔsuṇia, rojgar/ rojgaria, laṅguṛɔ/ laṅguṛia, sɔgɔṛɔ /sɔgɔṛia, sitɔḷɔ/situḷia, sɔhɔrɔ/ sɔhɔria, hɔḷɔ/hɔḷia, etc.

3. The other variant of this morpheme is –ua, which occurs with the following words–agɔ -front→ agua-leading, jɔrɔ-fever→jɔrua-feverish, kaṭhɔ /kaṭhua, khɔcɔ /khɔcua, gatɔ/ gatua, ghɔṇṭɔ / ghɔṇṭua, ghɔrɔ/ ghɔrua, gha/ghaua, ghaṭɔ /ghaṭua, cerɔ/cerua, jhaḷɔ/jhaḷua, daḍhɔ/daḍhua, danɔ/danua,dhanɔ/dhanua, dharɔ / dharua, nakɔ /nakua, naṭɔ/naṭua, paṭhɔ/paṭhua, pejɔ/pejua, meghɔ/meghua, pɔṅkɔ/pɔṅkua, pɔcho /pɔchua, pencɔ /pencua, peṭɔ peṭa/peṭua, bɔṇɔ /bɔṇua, baḷɔ /baḷua, bhaṅgɔ /bhaṅgua, maṛɔ /maṛua, michɔ /michua, mɔṭhɔ /mɔṭhua, mɔdɔ /mɔdua, bã-bãua/bãwa, mɔnɔ/mɔnua, ragɔ/ragua, laḷɔ/laḷua, sagɔ/sagua, sɔkaḷɔ/sɔkaḷua, sapɔ/sapua, haṭɔ/haṭua, hɔḷɔ/hɔḷua, etc.

Except these one or two morphemes all other Oriya and borrowed suffixes are generally of limited productiveness as only a few words are formed with them,

(ii) -ai (morphophonemically-ei). This suffix modifies the adjectives to give the meaning 'having the quality of',

Ex. miṭha-sweet→ miṭhai-sweets, moṭa-thick→ moṭai-thickness, bɔṛɔ/ bɔṛai, bojhɔ/bojhai, sɔpha/sɔphai, gol/golai, bhɔlɔ/ bhɔlai, etc.

(iii) -mi/-ami, it is added to adjectives to form nouns,

Ex. boka-fool→ bokami-foolishness, pila-child→ pilami-childishness, bhaṇḍɔ/ bhaṇḍami, khecẹra/khecẹrami, guṇḍa/ guṇḍami, coṭha/coṭhami, bhɔdrɔ/bhɔdrami, dusṭɔ/dusṭami, pagɔlɔ/pagɔlami, huṇḍa/huṇḍami, phajil/phajilami, murkhɔ / murkhami, cɔgɔla/cɔgɔlami, etc.

(iv) -ra/-ɔra/-ura, it is added to nouns to give the meaning of 'profession' or 'possession',

Ex. paṭɔ -silk→ paṭɔra-silk weaver, pokɔ -worm→ pokɔra-worm-eaten, kacɔ /kacɔra, kandɔ /kandura, khɔtɔ /khɔtɔra, ghɔsa/ghɔsɔra, cinhɔ /cinhɔra, cunɔ /cunɔra, jhampɔ/jhampura, ḍakɔ /ḍakɔra, dantɔ/dantura, poca/pocɔra, panɔ/panɔra, bɔṇṭa/bɔṇṭɔra, mutɔ/mutura, hɔga/hɔgura, hɔsɔ/hɔsura, etc.

(v) -ri/-uri ~ari,, it is added to nouns to mean 'profession',

Ex. kɔṅsa-bell metal→ kɔṅsari- a bell metal maker, puja-worship→pujari-priest, na/nauri, bhikɔ /bhikari, bhagɔ/ bhɔgari, etc.

(vi) -cia, it is added to mean 'quality or property',

Ex. paṇi-water→ paṇicia-insipid or watery, mai-female→-maicia-effiminate, kaḷi/kaḷicia, nali/nalicia, etc.

(vii) -ṭia, it is added to mean 'having',

Ex. bhɔṛa-hire→bhɔṛaṭia-tenant, ekɔ-one→ekuṭia-alone, khɔra/ khɔraṭia, dhũa/dhũaṭia, etc.

(viii) -ti, means 'habituated' or 'possessing'

Ex. puɔ -son→ puati-maternity, mɔdɔ -alcohol→ mɔdɔti-alcoholic, bɔṛɔ -bɔṛɔti, raja-rajuti, etc.

(ix) -ḷia, means 'having the quality of'

Ex. pila-child→ pilaḷia-child- like, oṭha-gum→ oṭhaḷia-sticky, khoṭa/khoṭaḷia, pita/pituḷia, jhoṅka/jhoṅkaḷia, kuha/kuhaḷia, ṭoka/ṭokaḷia, miṭha/miṭhaḷia, etc.

(x) -ṛi, it means 'addicted' to or 'in excess',

Ex. gopo-talk→ gopuṛi-talkative, jua- gambling→ juaṛi-gambler, bhaṅgo-bhaṅguṛi, etc.

(xi) -li, it means 'having the quality of',

Ex. gã-village→ gãuli-rural, sṵna- gold→suneli-golden, rupa/ rupeli, boṅka/boṅkuli, etc.

(xii) - kuḷa, it means 'having the nature of',

Ex. ḍoro -fear→ ḍoroḳuḷa- coward, lajo -shame→ lajoḳuḷa-shy, hoso/hosoḳuḷa, etc.

(xiii) -aḷo, it means 'a person who tends',

Ex. gai-cow→ gaiaḷo -cowherd, boito -boat→ boitiaḷo -boatman, moṅgo -moṅguaḷo , moĩsi-moĩsiaḷo , etc.

(xiv) -ka, this suffix is usually added to onomatopoeic bases to give nominal meaning,

moṭo moṭo - breaking noise→ moṭoka-brittle, loholoho shaking movement→ lohoka-thin, shaking ,solo /soloka, ṭola/ ṭoloka, chono chono/chonoka, mocomoco/mocoka, chiṭi chiṭi-chiṭika, loṛo loṛo/loṛoka, phosphos/ phoska, and also probably some words like coṭoka, ṭhuṇuka, koṛoka, etc. which cannot be traced to underlying bases.

(xv) -ikia, it means 'relating to',

Ex. maso-month→ masikia-monthly, hato-hand→ hatikia-cubit, poisa/poisikia, ṭoṅka/ṭoṅkikia, dino/dinikia, moja/mojakia, etc.

(xvi) -bala, it means a 'person in charge of',

Ex. ḍakɔ-mail→ ḍakɔbala-postman, pɔisa-money→ pɔisabala-moneyed man, ambɔ/ambɔbala, thila/thilabala, kagɔjɔ/kagɔ-jɔbala, etc.

(xvii) -giri, it means 'activities'

Ex. guṇḍa-ruffian→ guṇḍagiri-hooliganism, gumasta-clerk / gumastagiri-clerkship, dada/dadagiri, bɔjari/bɔjarigiri, babu/babugiri, behia/behiagiri, etc.

(xviii) - khor, it means 'addicted to'

Ex. nisa-drugs→ nisakhor-drug addict, jidi-arrogance→ jidikhor-arrogant, guli/gulikhor, gɔnja/gɔnjakhor, ghus/ghuskhor, etc.

(xix) - baj, it means 'involvment' 'expert', etc.

Ex. phaṅki-cheating→ phaṅkibaj-cheat, dhɔppa-double crossing→ dhɔppabaj-doublecross, phɔndi/phɔndibaj, cal/calbaj, mamla/mamlabaj, phurti/phurtibaj, etc.

(xx) - khana, it means a'place' or 'residence',

Ex. pagɔḷa-mad→ pagɔḷakhana- mental asylum, ḍaktɔr-doctor→ ḍaktɔrkhana-hospital, ciṛia/ciṛiakhana, bɔiṭhɔk/bɔiṭhɔkkhana, khɔjɔṇa-khɔjɔṇakhana, etc.

4.6

Compound nouns consist of more than one primary base. Both of these bases may be free or one of these may be unique. A compound noun is not merely a juxtaposition of two independent words, but is a construction of different words with underlying semantic structure. Therefore, the compounds are in a way quasi-idiomatic,i.e. the meaning of the parts is not necessarily equivalent to the whole. Structurally, most of the compounds are of two types: subordinate constructions where one of the constituents is a modifier of the other and are basically endocentric constructions. The second type of compound is a coordinate construction.

It has been said before that the Oriya words fall into three etymological types: tɔtsɔmɔ, tɔdbhɔbɔ and desɔjɔ. The tɔtsɔmɔ compounds are between the words of Sanskrit origin only and therefore governed by the Sanskrit grammatical rules. These compounds do not form a part of the Oriya grammar and therefore, are not treated here. Such words are straight loans from Sanskrit. The other types of compounds are listed below.

4.6.1.

The various types of modifications are,

(i) modified by a noun in accusative case. When compounded the case marker is deleted,

Ex. ghɔrɔ-ku bahuṛa-house-to returning: ghɔrɔbhuṛa-home-coming, machɔ-ku dhɔra-fish-to catching: machɔdhɔra-fish-catching /netting, dudhɔ-ku khia-milk-to eating: dudhɔkhia-suckling ,etc.

(ii) modified by a base with paĩ-for.

Ex. diõṅkɔ paĩ ghɔrɔ-god-for room: diõghɔrɔ-gods'room, pi:ba paĩ paṇi-drinking-for water: pi:bapaṇi-drinking water, khaiba paĩ telɔ-eating-for oil: khaibatelɔ-edible oil, etc.

(iii) modified by a base with instrumental case marker – dwara or-re,

Ex.baghɔ dwara khia –tiger-by eaten: baghɔkhia-tiger-eaten, hatɔ dwara lekha –hand-by written: hatɔlekha-hand-written, hand writing, mesin-re buṇa – machine-by woven/mesinbuṇa – machinewoven, etc.

(iv) modified by a base with ablative case marker –ru, bilat-ru pherɔnta-foreign-from returned : bilatpherɔnta-foreign-returned, goṭhɔ-ru khɔṇḍia-herd-from separated: goṭhɔkhɔṇḍia-unsociable, gɔchɔ-ru toḷa-tree-from picked:

gɔchɔtoḷa-garden-fresh, etc.

(v) modified by a base with genitive case marker –rɔ

Ex. phɔḷɔ-rɔ rɔsɔ-fruit-of juice: phɔḷɔrɔsɔ -fruit-juice, mamu-rɔ ghɔrɔ -uncle-of house :mamughɔrɔ -prison, kaṭhɔ-rɔ pokɔ-wood –of worm: kaṭhɔpokɔ-wood-worm,etc. In some cases the compounded modifiers may switch the place, rati-rɔ ɔdhɔ-night-of middle:ɔdhɔrati-mid-night, nɔi-rɔ mɔjhi-river-of middle:mɔjhinɔi-middle of the river, etc. which are more acceptable than ratiɔdhɔ, or nɔimɔjhi, etc.

(vi) modified by a base with locative case marker -re,

Ex. sɔmudrɔ-re gadhua-sea-in bathing: sɔmudrɔgadhua-sea-bathing, bɔṇɔ-re bhoji-forest- in feast: bɔṇɔbhoji-picnic, rati-re pindha-night-at wearing :ratipindha – night-dress, etc.

(vii) words joining two parts in forming a compound are deleted,

Ex. suna-tiari-harɔ-gold-made-chain: sunaharɔ-gold chain, ghoṛa-ṭɔṇa-gaṛi –horse pulled-car:ghoṛagaṛi-horse-carriage, maṭi-misa-gobɔrɔ-mud-mixed-cowdung :maṭigobɔrɔ -paste made of mud and cowdung, etc.

4.6.2.

When the bases of a compound lose their independent meanings and refer to a 'new meaning' are called idiomatic compounds,

Ex. ghoṛa-horse-ḍimbɔ-egg→ghoṛaḍimbɔ-preposterous or nonsense, poṛa-burnt-kɔpaḷɔ-fore-head→poṛakɔpaḷɔ unfortunate, upɔrɔ-up-muhã-facing→upɔrɔmuhã-disrespectful, surjyɔ-sun-mukhi-face: surjyɔmukhi-sun-flower,candɔ-moon-kɔḷa-black→candɔkɔḷa-a make-up, akasɔ-sky-gɔṅga-river →akasɔgɔṅga-milky-way,kɔḷa-black- maṇikɔ jewel→kɔḷamaṇikɔ Lord Krishna, phulɔ-flower-dhɔnu-bow→phulɔdhɔnu-Cupid's bow; nagɔ-cobra-

ɔiri-enemy→ nagɔ ɔiri-name of a plant, etc.

4.6.3.

The other type of compounds is coordinate compounds as the bases are joined by o/au-and, etc.

Ex. pokɔ o jokɔ - worm and leech -pokɔjokɔ -worms, bika o kiṇa- selling and buying -bikakiṇa- business, transaction, dasɔ o dasi-male servant and female servant - dasɔdasi-menials, paṇi o pagɔ-water and weather -paṇipagɔ weather , gai o goru – cow and cattle- gaigoru – cattle, pila o jhila –child and girl child(?) -pilajhila-children, etc.

4.6.4.

Balance nouns are nouns which occur with other nouns in coordination and are in the same grammatical class as the head nouns. It is the second member of the compound which functions as the balance noun. Although the compound words with balance nouns are very frequent in Oriya, there are only a limited number of them which occur as balance nouns. It may also be noted that many nouns which are used as balance nouns may be so archaic in the language that they are no longer free and in isolation their meaning is not known to the native speakers. For example, bakɔrɔ. in a compound cakɔrɔ bakɔrɔ servants, even do not occur in the lexicon. Apparently, it is a borrowed word of Arabic origin, which means 'servant' in that language : the compound cakɔrɔ bakɔrɔ means 'servants and menials' in a general sense. In other cases however, the meaning may be generalized in a different sense,

Ex. mo: saṅgɔre aṭhɔ dɔsɔ jɔṇɔ kamɔ kɔr -uchɔnti

me with eight ten person work do-are

Eight to ten persons are working with me, where the number with its balance word 'dɔsɔ'–ten marks the upper limit of persons. If it

is changed to aṭhɔ nɔ -eight-nine, the upper limit becomes 'nine', without being too accurate in either case. Precisely, it is this 'inaccuracy' and a 'general meaning' that has to be noted in balace compounds.

4.6.4.1.

These 'generalised' meanings are given to the compounds in five types of balancing,

(i) The balance word is complementary to the main word,

Ex. ɔṇḍa-bɔcca-egg-baby-infants, new born babies, ɔtithi-ɔbhyagɔtɔ guest – new-commer-guests, ɔstrɔ sɔstrɔ-weapon – tools-weapons, aĩsɔ usuna-non-vegetarian food -steamed rice, food not sacred, kɔḷi-kɔjia-quarrel-argument, quarreling, ɔnunɔyɔ binɔyɔ-humbleness, ain-kanun-rules and regulations, apɔdɔbipɔdɔ -calamities, dhar-udhar-monetary transactions, etc.

(ii). The balance word is opposite of the main word,

agɔ pɔchɔ-front-back, pros and cons.,

ayɔ byɔyɔ -income-expenditure, finance,

kua – koili – crow - cuckoo (a seasonal migratory bird), all sorts of birds, krɔyɔ bikrɔyɔ-buying –selling, business activities, dhɔrmɔ ɔdhɔrmɔ-consideration of right and wrong, akasɔ pataḷɔ -heaven and hell, aram-beram-health and illness, gaṇḍi-muṇḍɔ all ends, choṭɔ bɔṛɔ -all sizes and ages, jɔbab-sual-question and reply in a court-room, etc.

(iii) The balance word usually stands for a part of the whole,

ɔṅgɔ prɔtyɔṅgɔ -major and minor limbs,

jɔntu-januwar - wild animals

jhiɔ jhiaṇi - daughter type relatives,

gɔchɔpɔtrɔ - vegetation,

paṇi poṇa-drinks, etc.

(iv)The balance word rhymes with the head word,

cɔsa bhusa - uncouth person

gɔchɔ bruchɔ - vegetation

mɔujɔ mɔjlis - fun-frolic

lekha jokha - not blood relatives

peṭɔ paṭoṇa- livelihood

bɔndha chɔnda- pawn, etc.

(v) The head word may take different balance words for different meanings,

jama joṛɔ - formal clothes, jama poṭa - clothes,

mɔsa machi – pests, mɔsa ḍaũsɔ - larger pests,

dhɔnɔ jɔubɔnɔ - health and wealth, dhɔnɔ dhanyɔ - riches,

dana kɔna - minimum needs, dana paṇi – employment,

jani jatra - festivals, jani jɔutukɔ - dowry,

dinɔ dukhi - poor, dinɔ dɔridrɔ - needy, etc.

Besides these characteristics of the balance words, formation of compounds with balance words is quite productive in Oriya. The number of established balance-compounds run to some four hundred or so. As long as the balance words match the head words sematically and phonetically, new compounds can be formed by the speaker at will. The balance-compounds are not restricted to any one type of words. The native words as well as the borrowed words from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English also freely enter into these compound formations. Furthermore not only the nouns but also the adjectives and the verbal nouns freely enter into these compounds,

Ex.

(i) nouns - ba: bɔtasɔ -wind - storm - strong wind, tempest, pokɔ jokɔ - worm-leech - bugs, insects, khɔṭɔ pɔlɔṅkɔ - cot - bed-stead - furniture, jɔbab sualɔ- reply-question- question-answer in a court – room, etc.

(ii) adjectives - ṭoka bhoka – young man – rhyme word - young males, buḍha hɔṛa –old man - old cattle – old people, gɔribɔ guruba - poor – rhyme word - poor people, moṭa soṭa – fat – rhyme word - fat, coarse, etc.

(iii) verbal nouns - cɔla bula – walking – roaming - light walking, bhɔṅga ruja – breaking – rhyme word - demolition, hɔṇa mɔra – hacking - killing – blood-shed, ghɔsa mɔja – rubbing – polishing - polishing, etc.

As the formation of balance-compounds is a productive process it is not possible to list them exhaustively. Some established compounds of this type are,

ɔkatɔkatɔ (paṇi) – deep (water), ɔcɔḷacɔḷɔ (sɔmpɔtti) – unlimited (wealth), indrɔcɔndrɔ - powerful gods and forces, osɔdɔ pɔtrɔ - medicines, eṇuteṇu - all sorts of nonsense, kɔnakɔtɔra – rags, khɔṇdiakhabɔra – wounded, gɔpɔsɔpɔ - chattings, gha:ghɔuṛɔ - wounds, cɔlakcɔturɔ - smart, chiṛaneṅkeṛa – rags, jɔmi jɔma – wealth, ṭha:piḍha – dinner arrangements, ḍigriḍismis – dismissed lawsuit, ḍhɔgɔ ḍhɔmaḷi – anecdotes, telitamuḷi – lower caste businessmen, dɔṅga hɔṅgama – riots, nɔthipɔtrɔ - records, pɔṛisaɔṛisa – neighbours, phɔḷɔ muḷɔ -fruits, bɔndhubandhɔbɔ - relatives, bhaibhɔgari – heirs, rɔṅgɔ ḍhɔṅgɔ - manners, lɔṅgɔḷamukuḷa – naked, dishevelled, sanyɔsamɔntɔ - armed forces, hatɔhɔtiarɔ – weapons, etc.

The main function of the balance words is to give a 'rounded up' or 'general meaning' to a concept. In fact in ordinary conversation no

word is considered 'complete', unless a balance word is added. It gives the compound a 'general' meaning against 'specific' meaning. For example, Oriya has no general word for 'household furniture'. Therefore, a compound like cɔuki benc-'chair bench' gives the general meaning of 'light furniture' as against khọṭɔ pɔlɔṅkɔ meaning 'heavy furniture' like bed-stead. Besides, the members of a compound have individual meanings like, cɔuki – chair, benc –bench, but balance formation like cɔ uki benc gives the meaning of 'small wooden furniture', as used in home, school or office. The general meaning is obtained by juxtaposing various types of balance words like opposites, parts of wholes, rhyming words, etc. to the head word.

4.6.5.

There are a large number of echo-words in Oriya, but as most of these do not enter into compound formations in a noun frame, they are not treated under this head. The only echo words which occur in compounds are of the following kind,i.e. any noun which does not begin with a ph –can take an echo word beginning with ph-. For example, ghɔrɔ - house can have an echo word - phɔrɔ , ɔnṭa –waist becomes - phɔṇṭa, luṇɔ - salt becomes - phuṇɔ , etc. However , if the word begins with a ph-, it takes an echo word beginning with m -,i.e. phulɔ - flower becomes - mulɔ , phita – tape becomes – mita, etc. These echo – compounds have the following type of structure and meaning,

Ex.

1. e desɔ-rɔ loke bhatɔ kha:nti nahĩ
   this country-of people rice eat not
   People of this country do not take rice.
2. e desɔ-rɔ loke bhatɔ phatɔ kha:nti nahĩ
   this country-of people rice-echo eat not
   People of this country do not eat cereals (lit. rice and the like).

Similarly, corɔ-thief -corɔ - phorɔ -thieves and the like, i.e. shady characters, ɔṇṭa-waist - ɔṇṭa-phɔṇṭa-joints etc., iṭa- brick-iṭa - phiṭa –bricks and the like, phɔṭɔ - photograph - phɔṭɔ - mɔṭɔ - pictures and the like, etc.

Unlike the balance words, the echo-words have no independent meaning or existence. They are merely phonetic copies of the head words and when they enter into compounds with nouns, they bring some change in the meaning which is usually of a negative nature.

CHAPTER - V

Adjective

5.1

Adjectives in Oriya are a class of words which occur as attributes to the nouns. They also occur in predicative position. In both the positions the adjectives are unmarked.

In predicative position the adjectives take a copula verb, but a copula verb like ọṭe has since become obsolete and the adjective occurs without ọṭe.

Ex.

1. se ɔndhɔ (ọṭe)
   he blind
   He is blind
2. semane ɔndhɔ (ọṭɔnti)
   they blind
   They are blind, etc.

Phonologically, formerly a large number of common adjectives seemed to be ending with –a, like: buḍha – old, choṭa – lame, kɔṇa-blind, peṭa-pot-bellied, ḍeṅga-tall, kɔḷa-black, dhɔḷa-white, puruṇa – old, thɔṇḍa – cold, sadha-simple, geṛa – short statured, moṭa –fat, kala – deaf, pɔtɔḷa –thin, miṭha –sweet, pita – bitter, eka – alone, sagua-green, hɔḷɔdia – yellow, etc. , but this is no longer true of adjectives as many now end with other vowels as well.

Generally, the adjectives which precede the nouns in attributive position do not show any agreement with the nouns except in a few cases where the adjectives may agree with the nouns in gender,

Ex. buḍha ḍaktɔr – old male doctor; buḍhi ḍaktɔraṇi – old female doctor, ɔndhɔ ṭoka – blind boy; ɔndhuṇi ṭoki-blind girl, kɔḷa sɔṇḍhɔ-black bull; kaḷi gai – black cow, etc.

But this agreement is more often flouted than observed in modern spoken and even written variety. Structurally, the adjectives fall into two major classes: simple and complex-

5.2

1. Simple adjectives are monomorphemic words,
   Ex. cɔlak-clever, nali-red, gɔrɔm – hot, usum – warm, miṭha – sweet, cɔuṛa – broad, ɔndharɔ - dark, choṭɔ - small, dhɔḷa – white, dheṛeṅga – slim, dɔhɔṛɔ - hot, etc.
   The adjectives may be reduplicated to signify plurality,
   Ex. choṭɔ choṭɔ ghɔrɔ - small houses, sanɔ sanɔ pila – small children, moṭa moṭa kagɔjɔ - thick papers, cɔuṛa cɔuṛa duarɔ - wide doors, etc.
2. The other group of simple bases which function as attributes to nouns are demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns,
   e/ei/ehi – ei pila – this child, ei bɔhi – this book
   se/sei/sehi – sei pila – that child, sei bɔhi – that book
   keũ/kou – kou pila – which child, kou bɔhi – which book,
   jeũ/jou – jou pila – that child, jou bɔhi – that book, etc.

5.3

A complex adjective consists of a base and formatives. We have already said that many of the indigenous adjectives ended with –a, but this does not hold true any longer. Yet, the major adjective marker now is –a or its variants,

1. –a formative,

   paṇi – water, paṇi-a – watery; maṭi –clay, maṭi-a-muddy; daḍhi – beard, daḍhia – bearded; jati – kind, caste, jatia – pedigreed; hɔḷɔdi – turmeric, hɔḷɔdia – yellow; chɔu –spot, chɔua-spotted; galu –fuss, galua – fussy, etc.

2. –ua formative,

   bɔḷɔ - strength: bɔḷua – strong, ṭaṇɔ -hard: ṭaṇua-hard, kaṭhɔ - wood: kaṭhua –solid , haṛɔ- bone: haṛua – bony, bɔṇɔ-forest: bɔṇua-wild, gatɔ-hole: gatua –living in a hole, maṛɔ-beating: maṛua – who gets beaten, daḍhɔ-sharp: daḍhua – sharp, laḷɔ-saliva: laḷua-slippery, michɔ-lie: michua-liar, agɔ -front: agua – leading, paṭhɔ-study: paṭhua –studious, sagɔ-herbs: sagua-green, ragɔ-hot: ragua – hot, etc.,

3. – i formative,

   golapɔ-rose: golapi-rosy, akasɔ-sky: akasi-sky-coloured, etc.,

4. –ia formative,

   khɔirɔ -catechu: khɔiria-catechu-coloured, telɔ-oil: telia-oily,dudhɔ-milk: dudhia-milky, tɔḷɔ-ground, tɔḷia-low, cauḷɔ -rice: cauḷia –seedy, maũsɔ-flesh: maũsia-fleshy, paũsɔ-ash: paũsia-ash-coloured, luṇɔ-salt: luṇia-salty, etc.

5. -ḷia formative,

   pita – bitter: pituḷia – bitterish, goṭa – hard: goṭaḷia-hard, sitɔ-winter: situḷia-cold. Perhaps, for these words, the underlying bases are, pitɔḷɔ -copper, goṭaḷi – lump, sitɔḷɔ -cold, and therefore it is just the – ia suffix and not -ḷia.

6. Some of the adjectives are differentiated in sex,

Ex.

a. final-V→-i when female,

buḍha -buḍhi – old man, choṭa-choṭi –lame man,
kɔṇa-kaṇi-one-eyed man, khɔna - khɔni-stutterer,
etc.

b. final-V→-oi, when female,

pakua-pakoi-toothless, galua-galoi-argumentative, etc.

c. final – V→ -ṇi, when female,

ɔndhɔ - ɔndhuṇi – blind, kala - kaluṇi –deaf, corɔ -corɔṇi – thief, etc.

d. final –ra → -ri, when female

dantura –danturi – prominent teeth, mutura – muturi –one who urinates often, hɔgura -hɔguri – one who passes stool often etc.

(Note- other markers of this group are already listed in the gender section, 4.1.3.)

7.nominals which can occur in the attributive position are the genetive forms of the pronouns like mo–my, amɔ-our, to–your, ta–his, kaha–whose, etc.

Ex. mo bɔhi – my book, ta bhɔuṇi – his sister, to kamɔ- your work, taṅkɔ ghɔrɔ - their house, kaha ciṭhi – whose letter, etc.

5.4.

The various types of verbal adjectives are,

Ex.

1. Verb root –a
   lekh – to write : lekha kagɔjɔ - written paper,
   cir - to tear : cira saṭ – torn shirt,

pɔḍh – to study : pɔḍha bɔhi – book that is read,
dekh – to see : dekha philim – film that is seen,
randh – to cook : rɔndha basɔnɔ - cooking vessel,

2. Verb root – ba
   pi - to drink : pi:ba paṇi – drinking water
   kha – to eat : khaiba pɔdarthɔ - eatable stuff
   suṇ - to hear : suṇiba kɔtha – thing that is heard
   so – to sleep : soiba ghɔrɔ - sleeping room.

3. Verb root – la
   sukh – to dry : sukhila kaṭhɔ - dry wood
   bɔḍh – to grow: bɔḍhila jhiɔ - grown up girl
   hɔj – to be lost: hɔjila dinɔ - lost days
   hɔs – to laugh : hɔsila mũhɔ - laughing face

4. Verb root – nta
   cɔḷ – to move : cɔḷɔnta gaṛi -running train
   ji – to live : jiɔnta machɔ - live fish
   as – to come : asɔnta bɔrsɔ - coming year
   jɔḷ – to burn : jɔḷɔnta kaṭhɔ – burning wood,

5. Verb root -ṇa
   mag – to beg : magɔṇa osɔdɔ - free medicine.
   kand – to weep : kandɔṇa swɔrɔ - weeping voice,
   cakh - to taste : cakhɔṇa tɔrkari – testing curry,
   pa – to get : pauṇa ṭɔṅka – due money,

5.5.

Adjectives are grouped into two main sub-types : qualitative adjectives and quantitative adjectives. The qualitative adjectives do not include numerals. The quantitative adjectives include numerals in bound or free form. The qualitative adjectives denote general qualities of objects like live, human, size, etc.

5.5.1.

The quantitative adjectives are either a numeral or a numeral classifier. The Oriya numeral system is basically a system of 'ten'. Up to 10 the numerals are single morphemes and beyond that number they take markers like - ɔr for ten,– is for twenty, -tris for thirty, - ḷis for forty, -bɔn for fifty, -sɔṭhi for sixty, -stɔri for seventy, -si for eighty, and -nɔbe for ninety, etc. But as these segmented markers are not very regular it is preferable to cite the numbers up to 100, as single morphemes,:

e: kɔ/ek – one, dui/di -two, tini/tin-three, cari/car-four, pancɔ/ panc –five, chɔ-six, satɔ/sat –seven, aṭhɔ/aṭh –eight, nɔ-nine, dɔsɔ/dɔs –ten, egarɔ-11, ba:rɔ-12, te:rɔ-13, cɔudɔ-14, pɔndɔrɔ-15, sohɔḷɔ-16, sɔtɔrɔ-17, ɔṭhɔrɔ-18, uṇis-19, kɔṛie –20, ekois-21, bais-22, teisi-23, cɔbis-24, pɔcis-25, chɔbis –26, sɔteis-27, ɔṭheis-28, ɔṇtris-29 (lit. one less than 30), tiris-30, ektris-31, bɔtis-32, tetis-33, cɔutris-34, pɔĩtris-35, chɔtis-36, sɔĩtris-37, ɔṭtris -38, ɔṇcaḷis-39, caḷis-40, ekcaḷis-41, bɔyaḷis-42, teyaḷis-43, cɔuraḷis-44, pɔĩcaḷis-45, chɔyaḷis-46, sɔtcaḷis-47, ɔṭcaḷis-48, ɔṇɔcas-49, pɔcas-50, ekabɔn-51, ba:bɔn-52, tepɔn-53, cɔubɔn-54, pɔncabɔn-55, chɔpɔn-56, sɔtabɔn-57, ɔṭhabɔn-58, ɔṇsɔṭhi-59, saṭhie-60, eksɔṭhi-61, ba:sɔṭhi-62, te:sɔṭhi-63, cɔusɔṭhi – 64, pɔ̃:sɔṭhi – 65, chɔ:sɔṭhi – 66, sɔtsɔṭhi – 67, ɔṭsɔṭhi/ɔṭhsɔṭhi – 68, ɔṇɔsturi-69, sɔturi – 70, ekɔstɔri - 71 ,ba:stɔri – 72, te:stɔri – 73, cɔustɔri – 74, pɔncɔstɔri – 75, chɔ:stɔri – 76, sɔtɔstɔri – 77, ɔṭhɔstɔri – 78, ɔṇaɔsi – 79, ɔsi – 80, ekaɔsi – 81, bɔyaɔsi – 82, teyaɔsi – 83, cɔuraɔsi – 84, pɔncaɔsi – 85, chɔyaɔsi – 86, sɔtaɔsi – 87, ɔṭhaɔsi – 88, ɔṇɔnɔbe – 89, nɔbe - 90, ekanɔbe – 91, bɔyanɔbe – 92, teyanɔbe – 93, cɔuranɔbe – 94, pɔncanɔbe – 95, chɔyanɔbe – 96, sɔtanɔbe - 97, ɔṭhanɔbe - 98, ɔneswɔtɔ - 99, sɔhe - 100

Other higher numbers are formed by placing the smaller numbers after sɔhe – 100, hɔjare - 1,000, lɔkhye – 1,00,000, koṭie – 1,00,00,000, etc.

Ex.

sɔhe e:k – 101, sɔhe dui – 102, sɔhe dɔs – 110, sɔhe kɔṛie – 120, dui sɔhɔ - 200, tini sɔhɔ - 300, tini sɔhɔ dɔs – 310, tini sɔhɔ kɔṛie – 320, hɔjare – 1,000, hɔjare dɔs – 1010, hɔjare kɔṛie – 1020, egarɔ sɔhɔ - 1100, barɔ sɔhɔ - 1200, dui hɔjar – 2,000, tini hɔjar –3,000, tini hɔjar sɔhe – 3,100, tini hɔjar dui sɔhɔ - 3200, tini hɔjar dui sɔhɔ kɔṛie – 3220, dɔsɔ hɔjar – 10,000, lɔkhye – 1,00,000, dui lɔkhyɔ - 2,00,000, kɔṭie – 1,00,00,000, dɔsɔ kɔṭi – 10,00,00,000, etc., It may be noted here that higher numerals like 100 - sɔhe, 1,000- hɔjare, 100,000 - lɔkhye, 1,00,00,000 – kotie, etc, take a final –e meaning 'one'. So, the –e is dropped when the number is above one,

Ex.

sɔhe – one hundred, dui sɔhɔ - 200, satɔ sɔhɔ - 700, lɔkhye – one lakh, dui lɔkhyɔ - two lakh, satɔ lɔkhyɔ - seven lakh, etc.

Oriya has no separate ordinals and uses the same ordinals as Sanskrit,

Ex.

Cardinal	Ordinal	Meaning
ekɔ	prɔthɔmɔ	one
dui	dwitiyɔ	two
tini	trutiyɔ	three
cari	cɔurthɔ	four
pancɔ	pɔncɔmɔ	five
chɔ	sɔsṭhɔ	six
satɔ	sɔptɔmɔ	seven
aṭhɔ	ɔsṭɔmɔ	eight
nɔ	nɔbɔmɔ	nine
dɔsɔ	dɔsɔmɔ	ten, etc

5.5.2

Unlike the numerals, the numeral classifier is a construction consisting of a numeral and a classifier which indicates certain qualitative features of the referents of the nouns with which they co-occur.

The morpheme structure of the numeral phrase is numeral followed by a classifier when the number is above 'one'

Ex

dui jɔṇɔ lokɔ - two –classifier – person

dui khɔṇḍɔ kagɔjɔ - two – classifier – paper

dui maṭhia paṇi – two - classifier – water, etc.,

The other variant structure is classifier – number, when the number is 'one'

Ex.

jɔṇ-e lokɔ -classifier – one person

khɔṇḍ-e kagɔjɔ -classifier – one paper

maṭhia –e paṇi – classifier – one jug of water, etc.

The numeral –e, meaning 'one' also signifies indefiniteness as against -kɔ which is 'definite'. This contrast is limited to number 'one' only, as -kɔ does not occur with numerals above one,

Ex.

jɔṇ-e lokɔ - one person (indefinite)

lokɔ jɔṇɔ-kɔ - one person (definite)

In a broader frame the contrast is clearer,

Ex.

kie lokɔ jɔṇ-e asithila – Some one came

lokɔ jɔṇɔ-kɔ kie – Who is the person?

khɔṇḍ-e kagɔjɔ - One piece of paper (indefinite)

kagɔjɔ khɔṇḍɔ-kɔ - That piece of paper (definite)

maṭhia-e paṇi – A jug of water (indefinite)

maṭhia-kɔ paṇi – That jug of water (definite), etc

The -kɔ phrase although generally follows the noun unlike –e phrase, there is no hard and fast rule about it, The choice is more stylistic, Ex.

lokɔ jɔṇ-e – A certain person

lokɔ jɔṇɔ-kɔ - That one person

kagɔjɔ khɔṇḍ-e – A piece of paper

kagɔjɔ khɔṇḍɔ -kɔ - That piece of paper, etc.,

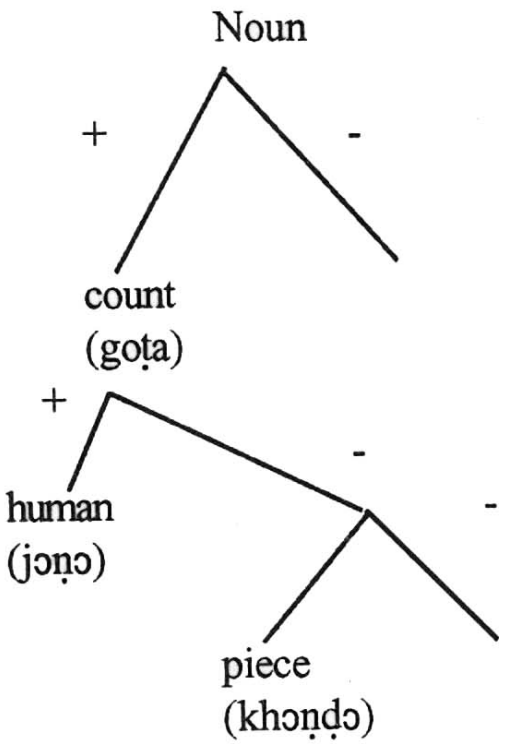
5.5.3

Morphologically and syntactically, numeral classifiers form a finite sub-class of Oriya adjectives. In all instances of enumeration of objects, the speaker must make a decision as to which of the alternative classifiers to employ in terms of some qualitative feature of the object. Thus, numeral classifiers are linguistic markers, which indicate certain physical attributes which a set of objects may manifest. The classifier adjectives have two kinds of structure,

(i) number – classifier, when the number is more than one,

(ii) classifier – number, when the number is one.

In terms of the numeral classifiers, the total domain of nouns can be broadly divided into two basic sub-classes, i.e., nouns which can be counted with goṭ-i/a –e (one) and the other group which can not be counted with goṭ-i/a. The 'count' nouns fall into two further sub-classes, i.e,. which can be counted also by jɔṇɔ - human and others which cannot be counted by jɔṇɔ. These 'non-human' nouns also fall into two sub-sets, i.e., which can be counted also by khɔṇḍɔ - 'piece' and which cannot be counted by khɔṇḍɔ. The system thus, can be presented schematically,



or,

1. nouns
1.1. nouns which can be counted by 'goṭ-i/a'
1.2. nouns which cannot be counted by 'goṭ-i/a'
1.1.1 nouns which can be further counted by jɔṇɔ - human
1.1.2 nouns which cannot be counted by 'jɔṇɔ'
1.1.2.1. nouns which can be further counted by khɔṇḍɔ - piece,
1.1.2.2. nouns which can not be counted by khɔṇḍɔ

(i) Thus, the first category of classifiers, goṭa, jɔṇɔ and khɔṇḍɔ specifies the 'status' of an object, i.e.,
goṭa – count objects
jɔṇɔ - count human
khɔṇḍɔ - count–non- human which signifies 'piece' as against whole,

Ex.

1. goṭa - jhiɔ - girl, polis – police man, cɔḍhei – bird, machɔ - fish, ruṭi – bread, ghɔrɔ - house, phɔḷɔ - fruit, etc.

2. jɔɳɔ - jhiɔ - girl, polis – police man, etc.
3. khɔɳḍɔ - machɔ-fish, ruṭi-bread, phɔḷɔ-fruit etc.,

(ii) The other category of classifiers marks the 'state' of an object irrespective of its 'status',

Ex.

1. in a 'joint' state,
   bhaṛi – a set, i.e., dantɔ - teeth, piṭha – cakes, baked or steamed in a single shift, haṇḍi – pots, dried in single shift, bhaṛi-e dantɔ - a set of teeth, bhaṛi-e mɔɳḍa – a set of steamed cakes, etc.
   dhaṛi – a row, i.e. ɔkhyɔrɔ - letters, ghɔrɔ - houses: dhaṛi-e ghɔrɔ - a row of houses, etc.
   hɔḷɔ - a pair, i.e., cɔṭi – shoes, bɔḷɔdɔ - bullocks, dul – ear-rings, hɔḷ-e jota – a pair of shoes, hɔḷe nisɔ - a pair of moustaches, etc.
   sɔṅgaṛi – a set, i.e., pɔita – sacred thread of a Brahmin, mɔnji – fish roe in sacks: sɔṅgaṛi-e pɔita – a set of sacred threads, etc.
   saɾɔ - a set, i.e., baja – musical instruments or an orchestra
   pɔlɔ - a flock, i.e., cɔḍhei – birds, kukuɾɔ - a group of dogs, etc.
   dɔḷɔ - a gang, i.e., coɾɔ - thieves, pila – children, etc.
   goṭhɔ - a herd, crowd, i.e., goru – cows, cheḷi – goats, etc.
   taṛa – a pack, i.e., rumal – hand-kerchiefs, noṭ- paper money, etc.
   biṛa – a bundle, i.e., kaṭhi – sticks, kagɔjɔ - paper, etc.
   gocha – a bundle, a head-load, i.e., kaṭhɔ - fire-wood, jhaũ- cut into a size (casurina trees), etc.
   keɳḍa – a bunch, i.e., dhanɔ - rice, bajra – millet, etc.
   pentha – a bunch, i.e., phulɔ - flower, ambɔ-mango, etc.,
   peɳḍa – a bunch, i.e., cabi-key, baḷɔ - hair, etc.,
   pheɳa – a bunch, i.e., kɔdɔḷi-banana
   kandhi – a bunch, i.e., nɔṛia – coconut, kɔdɔḷi – banana

bɔṇḍɔl – a bundle, i.e., biṛi - 'biri'
gɔda – pile, i.e, cauḷɔ-rice, ɔḷia – rubbish, etc.

2. in a 'broken' or 'segmented' state
phaḷɔ - half, i.e., ambɔ - mango, phɔḷɔ - fruit: phaḷ-e kɔkharu – one half of pumpkin, etc.
ciruṛa – a section, i.e., tɔrbhujɔ - water melon, phɔḷɔ - fruit-ciruṛ-e kɔkharu – a section of pumpkin, etc.,
sora – a strip, i.e., sora-e ambɔ- a strip of mango
phɔṛa – a sliver, i.e., tintuḷi – tamarind, ambulɔ - pickled mango, etc.
gɔṛɔ - a cross-section, i.e., kaṭhɔ - wood, machɔ-fish, etc.
ceka – a cross-section, i.e., machɔ - fish
phuṭɔ - a section, i.e., kɔmɔḷa – orange, pɔṇɔsɔ - jack fruit, etc.
kuḷa – a section, pod, i.e., rɔsuṇɔ - garlic
pɔdɔ - a stanza, i.e, gitɔ - song, mɔntrɔ - 'mantra' etc.
pɔṭɔ - one of the set, i.e., cuṛi – bangle, jota – shoe, etc.
bhagɔ - a portion, i.e., cuṅguṛi – shrimp, cauḷɔ - rice, etc.

3. in a 'liquid' state,
ṭopa-drop, i.e., luhɔ-tear, paṇi – water : topa-e telɔ-a drop of oil, topa-e dudhɔ -a drop of milk, etc.,
dharɔ - stream, i.e., luhɔ - tear, paṇi – water: dhar-e luhɔ -a stream of tear, etc.

4. in a 'soft' or 'manipulable' state
menca – lump, i.e., kaduɔ - mud, gobɔrɔ-dung: menca –e/ menc-e gobɔrɔ – a lump of cow –dung, etc.
guṇḍa – ball, i.e., bhatɔ - cooked rice, guṇḍa-e/guṇḍ-e bhatɔ- a ball of rice, etc
leṇḍa – a puddle, i.e., chepɔ- spit, gobɔrɔ - dung., etc.
mendaṛi – a puddle, i.e., guhɔ-excreta, gobɔrɔ - cow-dung
puḷa – a lump, i.e., maṁsɔ-flesh, dhuã – cigarette smoke, (which can be taken in a mouthful)

5. in a 'solid' state
   ṭeḷa – a clod, i.e., maṭi – earth, guṛɔ - jaggery: ṭeḷa-e/ ṭeḷ-e ɔphimɔ- a lump of opium,
   muṇḍa – a clod, i.e., suna-gold, khɔṛi – chalk: muṇḍa-e/ muṇḍ-e suna- a clod of gold.
6. in a 'special' state,
   dɔlɔka – gust, i.e., dɔlɔka-e pɔbɔnɔ - a gust of wind
   habuka – wave, i.e., habuka-e paṇi – a wave of water.
   ɔsɔra – shower, i.e., ɔsɔra–e bɔrsa – a shower of rain
   These 'state' classifiers signify the 'state' of an object with which these classifiers occur. For example, 'water' can be in the state of a drop -ṭopa or in a state of a stream-dharɔ, etc.i.e., irrespective of the 'status' or the 'nature' of the object, i.e., its inherent 'non-countable' status.

(iii) The third type of classifiers are employed to count the objects which are not otherwise 'countable'. For example, to count an object like 'water', which is not a countable object however, can be counted with the help of a classifier which is called a 'quantifier'. Such non-countable objects like 'water' can be counted when the numeral phrase consists of a 'container' like, maṭhia – jug, balṭi – bucket, etc., i.e., maṭhia-e paṇi – one jug of water, dui maṭhia paṇi - two jugs of water, etc. These quantifiers count non-countable objects from different semantic dimensions like, depth/height, width, container, girth, weight, size, dosage, layer, time-terms, group of numbers, etc. The quantifiers count the objects irrespective of their status.

Ex.

1. depth/ height: padɔ - foot, pad-e paṇi-one foot deep water. Other depth/height quantifiers are, aṇṭhu – knee, jɔṅghɔ-thigh, ɔṇṭa-hip, chati-chest, bekɔ-neck, muṇḍɔ-head,etc.

2. width/breath: aṅguḷɔ -finger, aṅguḷ-e cɔuṛa – a finger-wide. Other quantifiers which can be used are, cakhɔṇḍɔ-span, hatɔ -hand, incɔ-inch, gɔjɔ-yard, kilomiṭɔr-kilometre, mail-mile, etc.
3. weight: bhɔri-10 grams, bhɔri-e suna-10 grams of gold, kilo-kilogram, mɔhɔṇɔ-maund, bojhɔ-head-load, etc.
4. container: maṭhia – jug, maṭhia-e paṇi- one jug of water, kɔp-cup, kɔp-e ca – one cup of tea, gilasɔ - tumbler, camɔc – spoon, ḍoṅki – ladle, kuṇḍɔ-tub, balṭi – bucket, beta – basket, muṭha-fist-ful, ṭipɔ-pinch, pɔkeṭ – pocket, etc.
5. girth: muṭha –fist, muṭha-e/muṭh-e ghasɔ - a bundle of grass which can be held in one hand, kuṇḍhɔ - arm-ful, anjuḷa – both palm-ful, etc.
6. size: ekɔrɔ - acre, ekɔr-e jaga – one acre of land, guṇṭhɔ - a measure of land, etc.
7. dosage: panɔ - dose, pan-e osɔdɔ - one dose of medicine, camɔc – spoon, etc.
8. layer: phɔrdɔ - sheet, phɔrd-e kagɔjɔ - a sheet of paper, prusṭha – page, etc.
9. time: bɔrsɔ - year, bɔrs-e sɔmɔyɔ - one year of time, sekeṇḍ-second, ghɔṇṭa-hour, dinɔ-day, dɔṇḍɔ - moment, masɔ - month, jugɔ - age, etc.
10. group of number: koṛi – score, punja – four, etc.

The last two groups of classifiers are not listed exhaustively as these are open classes. A speaker can use any number of these words as classifiers. For example, jahajɔ - ship is not a classifier in the usual sense, but if some one uses it as a classifier in a phrase like, dui jahajɔ machɔ - two ship load of fish, it certainly should be acceptable.

5.6

Besides these common types of adjectives, there are a small number of words which function as adjectives of adjectives. As the adjectives precede nouns, similarly, adjectives of adjectives precede the main adjectives.

Ex.

gɔrɔm dudhɔ - hot milk: khub gɔrɔm dudhɔ - very hot milk, dɔridrɔ ḍaktɔr – poor doctor: ɔti dɔridrɔ ḍaktɔr – very poor doctor, khɔrap chɔbi – bad picture: nihati khɔrap chɔbi – extremely bad picture, etc.

Other adjectives belonging to this class are: bɔhut – much, many, ɔnek – many, kichi – some, bhari-very, ɔlpɔ- a little, sɔbu – all, sɔmɔstɔ-all, ɔsɔṅkhyɔ – innumberable, etc.

All the numeral classifiers and quantifiers can also occur as adjectives of adjectives.

Ex.

buddhiman chatrɔ - intelligent student: jɔṇe buddhiman chatrɔ - one intelligent student, gɔbhirɔ paṇi – deep water: ɔṇṭae gɔbhirɔ paṇi – waist deep water, etc.

5.7

There is a small class of numeral words which occur only with animate nouns and pronouns in an appositive position,

Ex

1. mũ eka/ekela jauchi
   I one/alone going
   I am going alone
2. ame du-hẽ jauchu
   we two/both going
   We both are going

3. semane tini-hẽ jauchɔnti
   they three going
   They three are going
4. pila cari-hẽ jibe
   children four will go
   The four children will go

Beyond the numeral four, the -hẽ suffix is not used. With the numeral one, although - hẽ does not occur, there is a special use of -hẽ which occurs with the 'human numeral classifire' joṇ-e, but only in a negative context,

Ex

kehi joṇe-hẽ paṭi kholile nahĩ
none classifier mouth opened not
Not even one person opened his mouth

A few other ordinary adjectives also which can occur in appositive position are,

Ex

1. pilamane sɔmɔste pu:ṇi asibe
   children all again will come
   All children will come again
2. ame buḍha buḍhimane pɔchɔre jibu
   we old men women later will go
   We the old men and old women will go later

   A second way of introducing an appositive form is by je-
3. mo:rɔ puɔ je ḍaktɔr, kehi jaṇi-nɔthile
   my son that doctor, none knew not
   My son, a doctor, none knew it
4. ṭipu sultan je joddha thile, eha ta:rɔ prɔmaṇɔ
   Tipu Sultan that warrior was, this its proof
   This is the proof of Tipu Sultan, the warrior.

CHAPTER - VI

Verb

6.1

The Oriya verbs fall into two major classes, finite and non-finite. The finite verbs terminate a sentence while the non-finite verbs do not. Further, the finite verbs are marked for mood, tense and person-number, and the last group of morphemes shows concord with the subject and change accordingly. The non-finite verbs do not take any of these morpheme categories and do not have any concord with the subject,

Ex.

1. mũ bhatɔ kha-i taṅkɔ ghɔrɔ-ku gɔ-l-i
   I rice eating his house – to go-did
   Having eaten rice I went to his house.
2. tu bhatɔ kha-i taṅkɔ ghɔrɔ-ku gɔ-l-u
   you rice eating his house-to go-did
   Having eaten rice you went to his house.
3. se bhatɔ kha-i taṅkɔ ghɔr-ku gɔ-l-a
   he rice eating his house-to go-did
   Having eaten rice he went to his house

The above examples show the non-finite verb kha-i remains neutral to the subject while the finite verbs gɔ-l-i, gɔ-l-u, gɔ-l-a, change with the subject I, you and he respectively.

6.1.1

The finite verbs are of two types, (i) pure verbs and (ii) mixed verbs, i.e.,

(i) root – mood – tense – person

(ii) nominal + subsidiary verb – mood – tense – person

Ex.

(i) kha-il-i: – root –tense – person-I ate

(ii) bibahɔ + kɔ-l-i:-noun+subsidiary verb – tense – person-I married

bhɔlɔ +pa-il-i: – noun+subsidiary verb – tense – person-I loved

6.1.2

The pure verbs fall into three structural types,

Ex.

1. root-MTP: kha-il-i- I ate, bɔs-il-i – I sat, kɔr-ɔnt-i-if I sit, etc.
2. root-aspect-auxiliary verb-MTP: kha-u-th-il-i-I was eating, bɔs-i-tha-ant-i- if I had sat, etc.
3. root-stem vowel-subsidiary verb-MTP: kha-i-de-l-i-I ate(fully), or

root-stem vowel-subsidiary verb-aspect-auxiliary verb-MTP, kha-i-de-u-th-il-i – I was eating(fully), etc.

Thus, if no stem vowel including the aspects is added to the roots, these are simple verbs. If any stem vowel including the aspects is added to the root, the verbs are compound verbs.

There are four stem vowels which can be added directly to the roots of which two are aspectual vowels and the rest two are non-aspectual or simply thematic vowels,

Ex.

1. root-(perfect aspect) i : kha-i-(ch-i) – I have eaten
   kha-i-(th-il-i) – I had eaten
   root – (continuous aspect) u :kha-u-(ch-i) – I am eating,
   kha-u – (th-il-i) – I was eating, etc.
2. root-(non-aspectual thematic vowel) i : kha-i-(de-l-i)-I ate (fully)
   root – (non-aspectual thematic vowel)a : khi-a-(he-l-a) – It was eaten.

It should be noted here that the four stem vowels fall into two distinct distributional classes, i.e., -i that contrasts with –u belong to one class and these are called aspectual markers. The other –i which contrasts with –a belong to non-aspectual class. The aspectual stems are followed only by an auxiliary verb, i.e., -ch-, -th- and –n-; while the non-aspectual stems can be followed only by a subsidiary verb, i.e., de-, ja-, ne-, poṛ-, pɔka- , uṭh-, he-, par- and sar-. Thus, four types of finite verbs are recognized in Oriya and these are,

(i) root-MTP (mood/tense/person)

Ex.

1. mũ bhatɔ kha-e
   I rice eat-MTP
   I eat rice –present tense (tense unmarked)
2. mũ bhatɔ kha-il-i
   I rice eat-MTP
   I ate rice –past tense
3. mũ bhatɔ kha-ib-i
   I rice eat-MTP
   I will eat rice-future tense

4. mũ bhatɔ kha-ant-i
   I rice eat-MTP
   If I eat rice –conditional tense.
5. tu bhatɔ kha
   you rice eat (MTP-unmarked)
   You eat rice – imperative
6. se bhatɔ kha-u
   he rice eat-MTP
   Let him eat rice-optative

(ii) root-i/u(apect)-auxiliary-MTP

Ex.

1. mũ bhatɔ kha-i-ch-i
   I rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   I have eaten rice –present perfect
2. mũ bhatɔ kha-u-ch-i
   I rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   I am eating rice-present continuous
   (Note – pedantically, -ch- and –n- auxiliary verbs are written as -ɔch and –nah, i.e., kha-i/u-ɔch/nah-i, etc.)
3. mũ bhatɔ kha-i-tha-e
   I rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   I have eaten rice (habitually) – habitual present perfect
4. mũ bhatɔ kha-u-tha-e
   I rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   I am eating rice – habitual present continuous
5. mũ bhatɔ kha-i-n-i
   I rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   I have not eaten rice-negative present perfect
6. mũ bhatɔ kha-u-n-i
   I rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP

I am not eating rice-negative persent continuous

7. tu bhatɔ kha-i-tha
   you rice eat-aspect-auxiliary- (MTP-unmarked)
   You eat rice-perfect imperative
8. tu bhatɔ kha-u-tha
   you rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-(MTP)
   You keep eating rice-continuous imperative
9. se bhatɔ kha-i-tha-u
   he rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   Let him eat rice-perfect optative
10. se bhatɔ kha-u-tha-u
    he rice eat-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
    Let him be eating rice-continuous optative

It should be noted that imperative forms are limited to 2nd person and optative forms to 3rd person only.

(iii) (a) root-i/a (thematic vowels) –subsidiary-MTP

Ex

1. camɔc-re bhatɔ kha-i-hu-e
   spoon-by rice eat-completive-subsidiary-MTP
   It is possible to eat rice with spoon.
2. camɔc-re bhatɔ khi-a-hu-e
   spoon-by rice eat-passive-subsidiary-MTP
   Rice is eaten with spoon

(b) root - i/a (thematic vowels) – subsidiary – aspect i/u – auxiliary–MTP

Ex

3. se bɔs-i-par-i-ch-i
   he sit-completive-subsidiary-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   He could sit

4. mũ kɔr-i-par-u-th-il-i
   I do-completive-subsidiary-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   I was able to do
5. camɔc-re bhatɔ khi-a-he-u-ch-i
   spoon-by rice eat-passive-subsidiary-aspect-auxiliary-MTP
   Rice is being eaten with spoon

6.2

These are the four types of verb structures with which finite verbs are formed. It has been said already that with the addition of four stem vowels two types of verb stems are formed. When i/a vowels are added to the root, only a subsidiary verb like ja-, de- , pɔṛ-, pɔka-, he-, par- , etc. co-occurs. Similarly, with the second type of stems formed with i/ u vowels only an auxiliary verb like, ɔch-, tha- and nah- occurs. The verbs therefore, belong to two basic structural types: i. root – MTP, and ii. stem – MTP

Ex.

(i). root – MTP

mũ kha-e – I eat, mũ kha-il-i- I ate, mũ kha-ib-i – I will eat, mũ kha-ant-i – if I eat, etc.

(ii) stem –MTP: (root – i/u-auxiliary) - MTP

1. mũ kha-u-tha-e – I am eating (habitually)
   mũ kha-u-th-il-i – I was eating
   mũ kha-u-th-ib-i – I shall be eating
   mũ kha-i-th-il-i – I had eaten
   mũ kha-i-tha-ant-i – if I had eaten, etc.
2. stem – MTP: (root-i/a-subsidiary) - MTP
   mũ kha-i-de-l-i – I ate (fully)
   mũ kha-i –de-b-i – I will eat(fully)
   bhatɔ khi-a-he-b-ɔ
   rice will be eaten,etc.

3. stem – MTP: (root-i/a-subsidiary-i/u-auxiliary) - MTP
   mũ kha-i-de-i-th-il-i – I had finished eating
   mũ kha-i-de-u-th-il-i – I was finishing eating, etc

6.2.1

The following is a listing of the morpheme classes in the nucleus part of the verb,

6.2.1.1

Root - A morpheme which can be cited with the –iba suffix or occurs as an imperative verb in 2nd singular without a stem vowel is a verb root.

The roots are of two types: simple root and extended root. Simple roots are bare roots, i.e., kha-eat, bɔs-sit, kɔr – do, lekh-write, as – come, hɔs – laugh, pɔḍh- read, etc. The extended root is formed by adding –a, the causative morpheme, to the simple root,

Ex. root → root-a – extended/causative root,

1. mũ pɔḍh-e : mũ pɔḍh-a-e
   I read : I make read/teach
2. mũ hɔs-e : mũ hɔs-a-e
   I laugh : I make laugh
3. mũ dekh-e : mũ dekh-a-e
   I see : I show (make see)
4. mũ kha-e : mũ khu-a-e
   I eat : I feed (make eat)

There are only a few simple roots like ja-to go, as- to come, he-to be, etc., which cannot take –a suffix, i.e., causativised.

Functionally, the roots fall into three sub-types, i.e., intransitive, transitive and double transitive. The intransitives do not take any object, transitives one object and the double transitives more than one object in a sentence. All the causative roots by definition are transitives,

Ex.

mũ bɔs-i-ch-i	: mũ ta-ku bɔs-a-i-ch-i
I have sat	I him-to sit-causative-have
	I have made him sit
mũ chɔbi dekh-u-ch-i	: mũ ta-ku chɔbi dekh-a-u-ch-i
I am seeing picture	I him-to picture see-causative-am
	I am showing him picture

In citing the roots – both simple and extended, an –iba suffix is added like, dekh-iba:dekha-iba, kha-iba : khua-iba, etc. This is also the usual format for the verb roots for lexical entry and quoting. The free form of the roots also occurs in 2nd singular imperative,
Ex. tu dekh – you see (simple root) – tu dekh-a – you show (extended/ causative root)

(i) There are a few roots in Oriya which are changed from intransitive to transitive by internal vowel change,

Ex. intransitive	transitive
mɔr- to die	mar- to kill
kɔṭ - to break	kaṭ - to break
ḍhɔḷ – to fall	ḍhaḷ - to pour
jɔḷ- to burn	jaḷ - to burn
kɔc – to fall/drop	kac – to make fall
jhɔṛ - to fall	jhaṛ - to make fall
sɔr – to get finished	sar – to finish
upuṛ - to get uprooted	upaṛ - to uproot
ghusur – to trail	ghosar – to pull
nigiṛ - to leak	nigaṛ- to strain

1. gɔchɔ-ru koḷi jhɔṛ-u-ch-i
   tree-from plum fall-are
   Plums are falling from the tree
2. mũ gɔchɔ-ru koḷi jhaṛ-u-ch-i

I tree-from plum make fall-am

I make plums drop from the tree.

(ii) Roots which do not undergo any morphophonemic change when subjected to various morphological processes are of four types. Some of these roots may have however, conditioned variants,

Ex.

1. roots which do not undergo any change, bɔs-to sit, pɔḍh- to read, uṭh-to get up, lekh – to write, etc. Most Oriya roots fall into this class.
2. roots which have morphemic alternants:
   he – to be, -occurs only before past and future tense morphemes, he-l-i – past, he-b-i – future; hu- before person markers –e and -ɔ vowels: hu-e; hu-ɔ; hɔ-elsewhere: hɔ-, hɔ-u, etc.
   mɔr – to die, variant mɔ- occurs only before past morpheme: mɔ-l-i, mɔ-l-a, etc., elsewhere mɔr-: mɔr-e, mɔr-ɔnt-a, mɔr-ib-ɔ, etc.
   kɔr – to do, variant kɔ-occurs only before past morpheme: kɔ-l-i, kɔ-l-a, etc., elsewhere kɔr-: kɔr-u, kɔr-ib-i, etc.
   ja-to go, of the three variants of this root, gɔ- occurs only before past morpheme: gɔ-l-i, gɔ-l-a, etc., j- only before future morpheme: j-ib-i, j-ib-a, etc., elsewhere ja-: ja-ɔ, ja-ant-i, etc.
   kha – to eat, of the three variants for this root, khi – occurs only before passive morpheme –a : khi-a; the second variant khu-, occurs only before causative morpheme –a : khu-a-iba, khu-a-u-ch-i, etc., elsewhere, kha- : kha-il-i, kha-e, etc.
   pɔṛ - to fall, of the two variants of this root, pɔk – occurs only before causative morpheme –a : pɔk-a-il-i, pɔk-a-u-ch-i, etc., elsewhere, it is pɔṛ - : pɔṛ-i-gɔ-l-i, pɔṛ-il-i, etc.
   tha- to remain, of the two variants of this root, th-occurs only

before past morpheme –il and the future morpheme –ib: th-il-i, th-il-a, th-ib-i, th-ib-a, etc., elsewhere, tha- occurs: tha-e, tha-ant-a, etc.

3. defective roots. The four roots which fall into this sub-class are ɔch-, nuh-, kãh-, nãh-, : ɔch-ɔnti-be, nuh-ɔnti – not, kãh-anti-where, nãh-anti-not there. These roots are conjugated only in the simple present tense and also cannot be causativised.
4. derived roots. The verb roots which are derived from nouns with the addition of –a fall into this class: goṛɔ - leg →goṛ-a- to chase, kandhɔ- shoulder → kandh-a – to carry on shoulder, muṇḍɔ - head → muṇḍ-a – to carry on head, lɔmbɔ - long → lɔmb-a – to lengthen, etc. A few other roots of similar phonological structure like, olha – to get down, oḷa – to sweep, etc., although do not have any underlying nominal form, also fall into this class. These roots cannot undergo causativisation like general simple roots.

(iii) A third group of roots, which also function like verbs, however, cannot be conjugated without the help of the subsidiary verbs. These roots are: bhusuṛ-iba- to collapse: bhusuṛ-i poṛ-ib-a, hoṭ-iba – to retreat: hoṭ-i j-iba, roṭ-iba – to spread, roṭ-i j-iba, etc.

(iv) It has been said before that the roots fall into two structural sub-classes, simple roots and causative(extended) roots. The causative roots are formed on the simple roots with the addition of –a, i.e., poḍh-to read, poḍh-a – to teach; lekh – to write, lekh-a – to make write, etc. However, there are a few simple roots like, j-iba- to go, as-iba – to come, th-iba – to be, etc, which cannot be causativised.

6.2.1.1.1

The roots are of two types of syllabic structures, i.e., monosyllabic and disyllabic. There are as many syllables as vowels and there could be more than one consonant in a syllable,

(i) monosyllabic

syllable	root	meaning
V/Ṽ	ũ-	to rise
V-C	aṇ-	to bring
V-CC	aṅk-	to draw
C-V	ga-	to sing
C-V-C	kas-	to cough
C-V-CC	kand-	to cry

(ii) disyllabic

V-V-C	aũs-	to pat
V-C-V-C	ohɔḷ-	to hang
V-C-C-V	olha-	to descend
C-V-V-C	dɔuṛ-	to run
C-V-C-V	choṭa-	to limp
C-V-C-V-C	kamuṛ-	to bite
C-V-CC-V	kuṇḍha-	to embrace

6.2.1.1.2

The roots taking suffixes, may undergo phonological changes which are a part of the Sandhi rules,

(i) closed syllabic roots,

1. if the final consonant of the root is h and the root vowel is ɔ and o, when followed by e,ɔ or a, it becomes u : kɔh → kuh. The other roots of the same structure are, rɔh- to stay, boh – to flow, soh- to suit, boh – to carry
2. if the final consonant of the root is h and the root vowel is a it becomes u, when followed by –a : pah → puh. Other roots of the same structure are , bah- to row.
3. if the root vowel is a it becomes ɔ, when followed by a, aṇ →ɔṇ, -to bring. Other roots of the same structure are, aṅk – to draw,

ɔjaṛ - to pour, pɔcar – to ask, mag – to beg, etc.

(ii) open monosyllabic roots,

1. if the final vowel of the root is e, it becomes i, when followed by e, ɔ or a,

   ne, de → ni, di- , when followed by e, to take, to give

   ne, de, → ni, di-. when followed by ɔ,

   ne, de, → ni, di- , when followed by a,

   if the final vowel of the root is e, it becomes ɔ, when followed by u,

   ne, de→ nɔ, dɔ, when followed by u

   (Note – in Oriya, even if the root he- to be is of the same phonemic structure, it does not undergo the same morphophonemic changes like other –e ending roots. Rather, it shows changes like –o ending roots, like dho-, so-, to wash, to sleep, etc. The reason for this is perhaps, historically the he – root was of ho- iba, in structure, which form is still used)

2. if the final vowel of the root is o, it becomes u, when followed by e, ɔ or a,

   dho, so → dhụ, su, when followed by e, to wash, to sleep

   dho, so → dhu, su, when followed by ɔ

   dho, so → dhu, su, when followed by a

(iii) open disyllabic roots,

1. if the final root vowel is –a, it becomes e, when followed by i,

   oḷa → oḷe, when followed by i, -to sweep

   Other roots of the same structure are, olha – to step down, kandha – to carry on shoulder, bɔsa – to make sit, etc.

2. if the final root vowel is –a, it becomes zero, when followed by a,

   oḷa →oḷ , when followed by a, to sweep,

   other roots of the same structure are olha, kandha, bɔsa, etc.

3. if the final root vowel is – a, it becomes ɔ when followed by u, oḷa → oḷɔ, when followed by u
   Other roots of the same structure are, olha, kandha, bɔsa, etc.

6.2.1.2

It has been said already that there are four verb stems in Oriya. Of the four stems, root –i/u- are aspectual stems. The –i stem is 'perfect stem', which means the 'completion' of action, and the –u stem is 'imperfect' or 'continuous stem' which means the 'continuation' of action.

(i) The aspectual stems of finite verbs must take an auxiliary verb before they are completed with Mood/Tense/Person(MTP). There are three auxiliary roots in Oriya, -ch-, -th- and –n-, the full forms of which are ɔch-, tha- and nãh-, respectively. The short forms of the auxiliary roots are preferred in the spoken variety of the language, while the full forms may occur elsewhere, i.e., mũ ja-u-ch-i or mũ ja-u-ɔch-i – I am going, mũ ja-u-n-i or mũ ja-u-nãh-i – I am not going, etc. Thus, the verb forms with the two aspects and the three auxiliaries are,

Ex.

mũ	kha-u-ch-i	I am eating
tu	kha-u-ch-u	you are eating
mũ	kha-u-th-il-i	I was eating
tu	kha-u-th-il-u	you were eating
mũ	kha-u-n-i	I am not eating
tu	kha-u-n-u	you are not eating, etc.

and the perfect forms are,

mũ	kha-i-ch-i	I have eaten
tu	kha-i-ch-u	you have eaten
mũ	kha-i-th-il-i	I had eaten
tu	kha-i-th-il-u	you had eaten

mũ	kha-i-n-i	I have not eaten
tu	kha-i-n-u	you have not eaten, etc.,

The free forms of the three auxiliaries are,

1. ɔch – to be. It has a bound allomorph ch- which occurs in spoken variety. Further, ch- mostly degenerates to c- in normal speech.
2. tha – to be. It has an allomorph th- occurring only before the past and future tense morphemes –il- and –ib-, respectively even in written variety.
3. nãh – negative auxiliary. It has an allomorph n- which occurs in present tense before –ant marker and in imperative. The second allomorph nɔ-, is not a root but a particle which occurs in all tenses other than the present. The last allomorph –na occurs only in simple imperative, i.e., ja:-na – do not go.

   In short, there are three auxiliary verbs in Oriya, ch-, th- and n, the full forms of which are ɔch-, tha- and nãh- respectively. The first two are BE verbs and the last a negative BE – verb. When the roots take stem vowels i/u, they must take an auxiliary before they are completed. It also has to be noted here that all the three auxiliaries occur only in present tense, and before all other tenses and moods, only –th- can occur. In other words , except for the present, the opposition between the two affermative auxiliaries ch- and th- is neutralized and only –th occurs. In the case of the negative auxiliary, it also occurs only in the present tense, but before other tenses and moods, a variant -nɔ occurs, which is not a root but only a particle. Thus, to negativise the aspectual forms in all tenses and moods, other than the present, the variant negative nɔ- is added and not the root –n-,

Ex.

affermative negative

past-mũ kha-i-th-il-i : mũ kha-i-nɔ-th-il-i – I had not eaten

future-mũ kha-i-th-ib-i : mũ kha-i-nɔ-th-ib-i – I would not have eaten

conditional- mũ kha-i-th-ant-i : mũ kha-i-nɔ-th-ant-i – if I had not eaten

imperative- tu kha-i-tha : tu kha-i-nɔ-tha – do not eat

optative-se kha-i-tha-u : se kha-i-nɔ-tha-u – let him not eat, etc.

Similarly, the paradigms of the imperfect aspect forms are formed with the u- stem for the negativ verbs.

(ii) It has been said before that the number of verb stems other than the aspectual stems are also two, formed with two thematic vowels –i/-a. The –i stem is a completive stem and the other –a stem is the passive stem. The limited number of verb roots which occur after the –i stem are called subsidiaries and these are, ja-, pɔṛ, uṭh-, pɔka-, de-, ne-, aṇ-, bɔs-, cal-, he-, sar-, par- and lag-. Of these subsidiary roots, only he- and ja- can occur with the passive stem. Verbs formed with these two stems may be called compound verbs. The subsidiaries of the compound verbs can function also as aspectual stems with the addition of i/u vowels and must be followed by auxiliaries like ordinary aspectual stems.

Ex.

root-i-subsidiary-MTP: mũ kɔh-i-de-l-i – I said (fully)

root-i-subsidiary-MTP: mũ kɔh-i-pɔka-il-i – I said (accidentally)

root-i-subsidiary-MTP: mũ kɔh-i-uṭh-il-i – I said (unexpectedly)

root–i-subsidiary-MTP: mũ kɔh-i-cal-il-i – I said (continuously)

Similarly with the passive stem,

root-a-subsidiary-MTP: kɔtha-ṭa kuh-a-he ~gɔ-l-a – the matter

was told.

Of these listed subsidiary roots, ja, pɔṛ, uṭh, occur only with intransitive roots; pɔka-, de, ne, aṇ, bɔs, cal, lag with transitive and he- with all roots. par, sar, also occur with all roots. The subsidiaries cause semantic and even grammatical changes in the primary function of the root.

Ex.

1. causing semantic changes,

mũ kha-i-de-l-i – I ate (completely, fully)

mũ kha-i-pɔka-il-i – I ate (badly, hurriedly)

mũ kha-i-par-il-i – I could eat, etc.

2. Changing grammatical function of the root,

iṛ-to pour (tr.) : iṛ-i-gɔ-l-a – to get poured (intr.)

poṛ- to roast(tr.) : poṛ-i-gɔ-l-a – to get burnt (intr.)

khol-to open (tr.) : khol-i-gɔ-l-a – to get opened (intr.)

uṛ - to fly : uṛ-i-gɔ-l-a – to get evaporated (intr.)

bɔs – to sit : bɔs-i-gɔ-l-a – to get frozen (intr.) etc.

With the passive stem, only the subsidiary he- to become and its free-variant ja- occur,

Ex.

khi-a-hu~ja-e – It is eaten

khoṭɔ-re su-a-hu~ja-e – Sleeping is done on bed, etc.

But, the he- subsidiary has a different function when it occurs with –i or completive stem. Although this stem with –he subsidiary is limited only to a very few words, yet it is a distinct function of this subsidiary, i.e., reflexive. In this structure the person-number is full 7-term, unlike other i-stem structures with –he subsidiary,

Ex.

root-i-he-aspect-auxiliary-MTP

mũ goṛɔ dho-i-he-u-ch-i – I am washing my feet

mũ telɔ lɔga-i-he-u-ch-i – I am applying oil on myself

tu goṛɔ dho-i-he-u-ch-u – You are washing your feet

se goṛɔ dho-i-he-u-ch-i – He is washing his feet, etc

It should be made clear that the reason for treating –i and –a stem vowels on par because of their contrastive distribution,

Ex.

camɔc-re	kha-i-hu-e	- It is possible to eat with spoon
camɔc-re	khi-a-hu-e	- It is eaten with spoon
kɔlɔm-re	lekh-i-hu-e	- It is possible to write with pen
kɔlɔm-re	lekh-a-hu-e	- It is written with pen, etc

Therefore, these two thematic vowels i/a belong to one structural class co-occurring with subsidiary verbs and are different from i/u stem-vowels which co-occur only with auxiliary verbs. The division of the four stem vowels to two distinct structural classes in spite of homophony in case of –i, it is crucial to the structural design of the Oriya finite verbs. Furthermore, a note also has to be made that although both simple and causative roots occur and contrast in the –i stem, this contrast is neutralized in the –a stem and only simple roots occur. Consider these examples

khoṭɔ-re	so-i-hu-e	It is possible to sleep on bed
khoṭɔ-re	sua-i-hu-e	It is possible to put to sleep on bed
camɔc-re	kha-i-hu-e	It is possible to eat with spoon
camɔc-re	khua-i-hu-e	It is possible to make eat with spoon

Thus, the contrast between the simple and the causative roots is clearly maintained in –i stem, but not in –a stem in which the opposition between the simple and the extended roots is neutralized

Ex.

camɔc-rekhi-a-hu-e - It is eaten with spoon

khoṭɔ-re su-a-hu-e - Sleeping is done on bed/It is slept on bed.

It is also said before that, there are quite a number of verb roots in Oriya, which cannot be conjugated without the help of a subsidiary, that is as a simple root.

Some of these roots are,

ubha-i-gɔ-l-a	vanished away
bhusuṛ-i-pɔṛ-il-a	collapsed
ancuṛ-i-de-l-a	scratched, etc.

6.2.2

Thus, the Oriya finite verb has two parts, a nucleus part and a non-nucleus part. The nucleus is formed by adding two sets of thematic vowels -i/u and -i/a to the base. The base is of two types, simple and extended or the causative. The stem vowels fall into two structural classes, aspectual and non-aspectual. The aspectual markers take auxiliary verbs and the non-aspectual markers subsidiary verbs. This is the structure of the nucleus of the verb which terminates with MTP markers. The latter morpheme classes fall into the non-nucleus part.

6.2.2.1

The morpheme classes of the non-nucleus part of the verb are, mood and tense. In terms of mood markers the Oriya verbs can be divided into four semantic types, i.e., indicative or declarative, conditional, imperative and optative

Ex.

1. indicative	: mũ ja-e	I go
	mũ j-ib-i	I will go, etc.
2. conditional	: mũ (jɔdi) ja-ant-i	(if) I go,
	se (jɔdi) ja-ant-e	(if) he goes, etc.

3. imperative	: tu ja	You go
	apɔɳɔ ja-antu	You (hon.) go, etc.

This mood is restricted to 2nd person only

4. optative	: se ja-u	Let him go
	semane ja-antu	Let them go

This mood is restricted to 3rd person only, although it may be extended to 1st person also with appropriate intonational modulation as the 1st person forms are same as indicative present forms.

Considering the structure and the distribution of the conditional verbs, it would be justified to treat the conditional as a 'tense' rather than a separate 'mood'.

Therefore, the morpheme classes of tense in Oriya are four,

Ex.

1. present	: mũ bɔs-e	I sit
2. past	:mũ bɔs-il-i	I sat
3. future	: mũ bɔs-ib-i	I will sit
4. conditional	: mũ bɔs-ɔnt-i	If I sit, etc.

Of these four tenses, past, future and conditional are overtly marked while the present tense is an unmarked tense. The morphemes of the marked tenses are, -il- past, -ib- future and -ɔnt- conditional.

Ex.

1. –il- past. It has an allomorph –l- which occurs after the following roots, he-, ja-, kɔr-, de- and ne-, i.e., he-l-u, (ja) gɔ-l-u, (kɔr) kɔ-l-u, de-l-u, and ne-l-u. Elsewhere, it is –il, i.e., bɔs-il-u, pɔḍh-il-u, kɔra-il-u, etc.
2. –ib- future. It has an allomorph –b- which occurs after the following roots, he-, de- and ne-, i.e., he-b-u, de-b-u, ne-b-u. Elsewhere it is –ib, i.e., bɔs-ib-u, pɔḍh-ib-u, kɔr-ib-u, etc.
3. -ɔnt- conditional. It has two other allomorphs: -ant – which occurs with some roots like, kha-, ja-, tha- i.e., kha-ant-u, ja-

ant-u and tha-ant-u. The other allomorph –nt- occurs only after the derived roots and the causative roots which end with an –a, i.e., kɔr-a-nt-u, bɔs-a-nt-u, kandha-nt-u, etc. Elsewhere, it is -ɔnt-, i.e., bɔs-ɔnt-u, lekh-ɔnt-u, pɔḍh-ɔnt-u etc.

6.2.2.2

In traditional grammars, usually the category of 'person' is divided into person and number. This sub-categorization of persons is morphologically not tenable in Oriya. However, the person/number dichotomization can be done only semantically or with reference to personal pronouns. Structurally there are seven persons which can be semantically sub-grouped as three singular and the rest plural. These are, 1st singular, 2nd singular, and 3rd singular, 1st plural inclusive, 1st plural exclusive, 2nd plural and 3rd plural. The inclusive/exclusive of the 1st person plural is not made at the pronoun level, but is manifested in the verb. Furthermore, some singular pronouns like 2nd and 3rd used honorifically, take person markers in the following manner,

Ex.

1. in 2nd person singular, the 'honorific you' or ɔpɔṇɔ, takes the same person marker as the 3rd plural
2. The 2nd person singular tu and the 3rd singular se, when used honorifically, also take their respective plural markers in the verb.

As stated above, the'number' in the verbs can be only semantically identified or with reference to the pronouns where 'number' is a morphological category and is formed upon singular, i.e., singular – mane,

Ex.

	singular	plural
1st	mũ	ame-mane/ame
2nd	tu, tume	tume-mane
	apɔṇɔ	apɔṇɔ-mane
3rd	se	se-mane

With reference to these pronouns, the following person markers can be isolated,

Ex.	singular	plural	
1st	(mũ)kha-e- I eat	exclusive (ame)	kha-u - we eat
		inclusive (ame)	kha-e - we eat
2nd	(tu) kha-u -you eat	(tume-mane)	kha-ɔ- you eat
3rd	(se) kha-e - he eats	(semane)	kha-anti – they eat.

Some of these person-number markers have allomorphs occurring in different environments.

So, the seven person markers in Oriya are,

Singular – 1st, 2nd and 3rd

Plural – 1st exclusive and inclusive, 2nd and 3rd

Besides these 7 term frame, there are other frames where the category of person marker is restricted to 1 term,

Ex.

khɔṭɔ-re so-i-hu-e	It is possible to sleep on bed,
khɔṭɔ-re su-a-hu-e	Sleeping is done on bed.

In these frames the terminal –e which fills the structural slot of person marker, is l- term and morphemically is same as the 3rd person singular. However, there may be counter examples at least in the –a or passive frame, where the person category could be 7 term and hence regular,

Ex.

mũ taṅku kɔh-il-i	I told him
se mo:dwara kuh-a-he-l-e	He was told by me
tu mo:dwara kuh-a-he-l-u	You were told by me, etc.

Although, the above examples are a little 'awkward', yet it shows the passive frame could also be 7 term with regular concord with the passive subject as in active frame. But, this is more of an exception rather than a rule.

The various allomorphs of the person markers are,

Ex.

1st singular: -i/-e, the alternant –e occurs only after the roots and tha- in present tense, i.e., kɔr-e, kɔra-e, kɔr-u-tha-e, etc. Elsewhere it is –i, i.e., kɔ-l-i, kɔr-ib-i, kɔr-i-ch-i, etc.

2nd singular : -u. It has no other allomorph, i.e., kɔr-u, kɔ-l-u, kɔr-ib-u, kɔra-u, kɔr-i-ch-u etc.

3rd singular: -e/-ɔ/-i/-a. Of the four alternants, -e occurs only after roots and tha- in present tense, i.e., kɔr-e, kɔra-e, kɔr-u-tha-e, etc.; -ɔ occurs only after the future tense morpheme –ib-, i.e., kɔr-ib-ɔ, kɔra-ib-ɔ, kɔr-u-th-ib-ɔ, etc.; -i occurs only after the auxiliaries –ch and –n, i.e., kɔr-u-ch-i, kɔr-u-n-i, kɔra-u-n-i, etc., elsewhere –a, i.e., kɔ-l-a, kɔra-il-a, kɔr-i-th-il-a etc.

1st plural exclusive: -u. It has no other variant, i.e., kɔr-u, kɔ-l-u, kɔr-u-ch-u, etc.

1st plural inclusive: -e/-a, -a occurs only in future tense, i.e., kɔr-ib-a, kɔra-ib-a, kɔr-u-th-ib-a etc. Elsewhere, it is –e, i.e., kɔr-e, kɔra-e, kɔ-l-e, kɔr-u-ch-e, etc. In some dialects or even idiolects, this may be pronounced as –ẽ, as some sort of hyper-correction. In some dialects, much less acceptably though, this morpheme occurs as -ɔnti.

2nd plural : It is universally -ɔ, i.e., kɔr-ɔ, kɔra-ɔ, kɔr-u-ch-ɔ, etc.

3rd plural: -e/-anti/-ɔnti/-nti. Of these four morphologically conditional variants, -e occurs only after the conditional tense morpheme -ɔnt- , i.e., kɔr-ɔnt-e, kɔra-nt-e, kɔr-u-tha-ant-e, etc, and the future tense morpheme, i.e., kɔr-ib-e, kɔra-ib-e, kɔr-u-th-ib-e, etc. –anti occurs only after –a ending root, auxiliaries and subsidiaries, i.e., kha-anti, kha-u-tha-ant-i, etc.; -ɔnti occurs after roots not ending with –a, i.e., di-ɔnti, su-ɔnti, pɔḍh-ɔnti, pɔḍh-u-ch-ɔnti, etc.; elsewhere it is –nti, particularly after extended roots, i.e., lekha-nti, pɔḍha-nti, sikha-nti, etc.

6.2.2.3

The person markers given above are for the indicative and conditional paradigms only, which are complete with 7 term person markers. The other two paradigms, imperative and optative are restricted to 2nd and 3rd persons respectively. For these restricted paradigms, segmentation of morphemes in terms of mood and person markers is neither economical nor productive, as these segments are portmanteau morphs,

Ex.

1. Imperative

The imperative paradigms are restricted to 2nd person only, tu (non-honorific): un-marked for both simple and extended roots.

i.e., kɔ̀r – do, ja – go, bɔsa – make sit, etc.

tume (familiar/plural) - i.e., kɔr-ɔ, ja-ɔ, bɔsa-ɔ, etc.

apɔn̩ɔ (honorific/plural) – ntu/-ɔntu/-antu, i.e., ja-antu, bɔs-ɔntu, kɔra-ntu, etc.,

The imperative forms of root –i/u -auxiliary – structures are also formed in the same model as the simple imperatives, i.e.,

tu kɔr-i-tha/kɔr-u-tha – You have it done/ You be doing,

tume bɔs-i-tha-ɔ/bɔs-u-tha-ɔ

apɔn̩ɔ bɔs-i-tha-antu/ bɔs-u-tha-antu, etc.

2. Optative

The optative paradigms are restricted to 3rd person only, i.e., root-optative person. The root could be both simple or extended,

Ex

se bɔs-u - Let him sit

se bɔsa-u - Let him make sit

semane bɔs-ɔntu - Let them sit

semane bɔsa-ntu - Let them make sit

Similarly, the optative forms of root –i/-u – auxiliary –structures are also formed in the same model as the simple optatives, i.e.,

se kɔr-i-tha-u	- Let him have it done
se kɔr-u-tha-u	- Let him be doing,
semane kɔr-i-tha-antu	- Let them have it done
semane kɔr-u-tha-antu	- Let them be doing, etc.

6.3

This is the full corpus of data for the verbal categories and morphemes, which go to form the verb paradigms in Oriya, both finite and affermative. The verb system and the derived processes are as follows,

(i) root – tense - person:
root – simple, extended (causative)
tense – present, past, future, conditional
person – singular: 1st, 2nd, 3rd and plural: 1st excl.,1st incl., 2nd, 3rd

Processes:

1. present tense (unmarked)

simple	causative	
mũ kɔr-e	kɔra-e	I do/cause to do
tu kɔr-u	kɔra-u	You do/
se kɔr-e	kɔra-e	He does/
ame kɔr-u	kɔra-u	We do/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-e	kɔra-e	We do/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-ɔ	kɔra-ɔ	You (pl) do/
semane kɔr-ɔnti	kɔra-nti	They do/

2. past tense

mũ kɔr-il-i	kɔra-il-i	I did/ caused to do
tu kɔr-il-u	kɔra-il-u	You did/
se kɔr-il-a	kɔra-il-a	He did/

ame kɔr-il-u	kɔra-il-u	We did/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-il-e	kɔra-il-e	We did/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-il-ɔ	kɔra-il-ɔ	You(pl.) did/
semane kɔr-il-e	kɔra-il-e	They did/

3. future tense

mũ kɔr-ib-i	kɔra-ib-i	I will do/will cause to do
tu kɔr-ib-u	kɔra-ib-u	You will do/
se kɔr-ib-ɔ	kɔra-ib-ɔ	He will do/
ame kɔr-ib-u	kɔra-ib-u	We will do/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-ib-a	kɔra-ib-a	We will do/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-ib-ɔ	kɔra-ib-ɔ	You (pl) will do/
semane kɔr-ib-e	kɔra-ib-e	They will do/

4. conditional tense

mũ kɔr-ɔnt-i	kɔra-nt-i	If I do/ If I make do
tu kɔr-ɔnt-u	kɔra-nt-u	If you do/
se kɔr-ɔnt-a	kɔra-nt-a	If he does/
ame kɔr-ɔnt-u	kɔra-nt-u	If we do/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-ɔnt-e	kɔra-nt-e	If we do/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-ɔnt-ɔ	kɔra-nt-ɔ	If you(pl.) do/
semane kɔr-ɔnt-e	kɔra-nt-e	If they do/

(ii) root –i/u – auxiliary – tense - person:

root – simple, causative

i/u – aspect: perfect/ imperfect (continuous)

auxiliary - -ch-, -th-, the opposition is neutralized in all other tenses except present and only –th- occurs

tense – present, past, future, conditional

person – singular: 1st, 2nd, 3rd and plural: 1st (excl./ incl.), 2nd, 3rd

Processes:

1. present perfect

simple	causative	
mũ kɔr-i-ch-i	kɔra-i-ch-i	I have done/ I have made it done
tu kɔr-i-ch-u	kɔra-i-ch-u	You have done/
se kɔr-i-ch-i	kɔra-i-ch-i	He has done/
ame kɔr-i-ch-u	kɔra-i-ch-u	We have done/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-i-ch-e	kɔra-i-ch-e	We have done/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-i-ch-ɔ	kɔra-i-ch-ɔ	You (pl) have done/
semane kɔr-i-ch-ɔnti	kɔra-i-ch-ɔnti	They have done/

2. habitual present perfect

mũ kɔr-i-tha-e	kɔra-i-tha-e	I have done (habitually)/ I have got it done (habitually)
tu kɔr-i-tha-u	kɔra-i-tha-u	You have done/
se kɔr-i-tha-e	kɔra-i-tha-e	He has done/
ame kɔr-i-tha-u	kɔra-i-tha-u	We have done/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-i-tha-e	kɔra-i-tha-e	We have done/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-i-tha-ɔ	kɔra-i-tha-ɔ	You (pl) have done/
semane kɔr-i-tha-anti	kɔra-i-tha-anti	They have done/

3. present imperfect

mũ kɔr-u-ch-i	kɔra-u-ch-i	I am doing/ I am getting it done
tu kɔr-u-ch-u	kɔra-u-ch-u	You are doing/
se kɔr-u-ch-i	kɔra-u-ch-i	He is doing/
ame kɔr-u-ch-u	kɔra-u-ch-u	We are doing / (excl.)
ame kɔr-u-ch-e	kɔra-u-ch-e	We are doing / (incl.)
tume kɔr-u-ch-ɔ	kɔra-u-ch-ɔ	You (pl) are doing
semane kɔr-u-ch-ɔnti	kɔra-u-ch-ɔnti	They are doing

4. habitual present imperfect

mũ kɔr-u-tha-e	kɔra-u-tha-e	I am doing (habitually)/
tu kɔr-u-tha-u	kɔra-u-tha-u	You are doing/
se kɔr-u-tha-e	kɔra-u-tha-e	He is doing/
ame kɔr-u-tha-u	kɔra-u-tha-u	We are doing / (excl.)
ame kɔr-u-tha-e	kɔra-u-tha-e	We are doing / (incl.)
tume kɔr-u-tha-ɔ	kɔra-u-tha-ɔ	You (pl) are doing /
semane kɔr-u-tha-anti	kɔra-u-tha-anti	They are doing/

5. past perfect

mũ kɔr-i-th-il-i	kɔra-i-th-il-i	I had done/ I had got it done
tu kɔr-i-th-il-u	kɔra-i-th-il-u	You had done
se kɔr-i-th-il-a	kɔra-i-th-il-a	He had done/
ame kɔr-i-th-il-u	kɔra-i-th-il-u	We had done/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-i-th-il-e	kɔra-i-th-il-e	We had done/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-i-th-il-ɔ	kɔra-i-th-il-ɔ	You (pl) had done/
semane kɔr-i-th-il-e	kɔra-i-th-il-e	They had done/

6. past imperfect

mũ kɔr-u-th-il-i	kɔra-u-th-il-i	I was doing/
tu kɔr-u-th-il-u	kɔra-u-th-il-u	You were doing/
se kɔr-u-th-il-a	kɔra-u-th-il-a	He was doing/
ame kɔr-u-th-il-u	kɔra-u-th-il-u	We were doing / (excl.)
ame kɔr-u-th-il-e	kɔra-u-th-il-e	We were doing / (incl.)
tume kɔr-u-th-il-ɔ	kɔra-u-th-il-ɔ	You (pl) were doing /
semane kɔr-u-th-il-e	kɔra-u-th-il-e	They were doing/

7. future perfect

mũ kɔr-i-th-ib-i	kɔra-i-th-ib-i	I will have done/
tu kɔr-i-th-ib-u	kɔra-i-th-ib-u	You will have done/
se kɔr-i-th-ib-ɔ	kɔra-i-th-ib-ɔ	He will have done/

ame kɔr-i-th-ib-u	kɔra-i-th-ib-u	We will have done/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-i-th-ib-a	kɔra-i-th-ib-a	We will have done/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-i-th-ib-ɔ	kɔra-i-th-ib-ɔ	You (pl) will have done/
semane kɔr-i-th-ib-e	kɔra-i-th-ib-e	They will have done/

8. future imperfect

mũ kɔr-u-th-ib-i	kɔra-u-th-ib-i	I will be doing
tu kɔr-u-th-ib-u	kɔra-u-th-ib-u	You will be doing/
se kɔr-u-th-ib-ɔ	kɔra-u-th-ib-ɔ	He will be doing/
ame kɔr-u-th-ib-u	kɔra-u-th-ib-u	We will be doing / (excl.)
ame kɔr-u-th-ib-a	kɔra-u-th-ib-a	We will be doing / (incl.)
tume kɔr-u-th-ib-ɔ	kɔra-u-th-ib-ɔ	You (pl) will be doing /
semane kɔr-u-th-ib-e	kɔra-u-th-ib-e	They will be doing/

9. conditional perfect

mũ kɔr-i-tha-ant-i	kɔra-i-tha-ant-i	If I have done/
tu kɔr-i-tha-ant-u	kɔra-i-tha-ant-u	If you have done/
se kɔr-i-tha-ant-a	kɔra-i-tha-ant-a	If he have done/
ame kɔr-i-tha-ant-u	kɔra-i-tha-ant-u	If we have done/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-i-tha-ant-e	kɔra-i-tha-ant-e	If we have done/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-i-tha-ant-ɔ	kɔra-i-tha-ant-ɔ	If you (pl) have done/
semane kɔr-i-tha-ant-e	kɔra-i-tha-ant-e	If they have done/

10. conditional imperfect

mũ kɔr-u-tha-ant-i	kɔra-u-tha-ant-i	If I were doing/
tu kɔr-u-tha-ant-u	kɔra-u-tha-ant-u	If you were doing/
se kɔr-u-tha-ant-a	kɔra-u-tha-ant-a	If he were doing/
ame kɔr-u-tha-ant-u	kɔra-u-tha-ant-u	If we were doing/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-u-tha-ant-e	kɔra-u-tha-ant-e	If we were doing/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-u-tha-ant-ɔ	kɔra-u-tha-ant-ɔ	If you (pl) were doing/
semane kɔr-u-tha-ant-e	kɔra-u-tha-ant-e	If they were doing/

(iii) root –i/a – subsidiary – tense - person:

root – simple, causative. The opposition between the simple and the causative roots is neutralized before passive marker and only the simple root occurs.

i/a – completive, passive

subsidiary – ja, de, ne, he, par, sar, etc.

tense – present, past, future, conditional

person – 1. in completive 7 term : singular – 1st, 2nd, 3rd plural – 1st (excl.), 1st (incl.), 2nd, 3rd

2. in passive only 1 term 'closing' person.

Processes:

1. completive

simple	causative	
mũ kɔr-i-de-b-i	kɔra-i-de-b-i	I will do (fully)/I will get it done(fully)
tu kɔr-i-de-b-u	kɔra-i-de-b-u	You will do (fully)/
se kɔr-i-de-b-ɔ	kɔra-i-de-b-ɔ	He will do(fully)/
ame kɔr-i-de-b-u	kɔra-i-de-b-u	We will do/ (excl.)
ame kɔr-i-de-b-a	kɔra-i-de-b-a	We will do/ (incl.)
tume kɔr-i-de-b-ɔ	kɔra-i-de-b-ɔ	You (pl) will do/
semane kɔr-i-de-b-e	kɔra-i-de-b-e	They will do/

2. passive

eha kɔr-a-hu-e	It is done
eha kɔr-a-he-b-ɔ	It will be done
eha kɔr-a-he-l-a	It was done
eha kɔr-a-hu-ɔnt-a	If it gets done

(iv) root –i/a – subsidiary –i/u –auxiliary – tense - person:

This structure produces paradigms exactly like the (iii) structure, except that –i/a stems with subsidiaries can be extended further to take aspects –i/u with auxiliaries,

Ex.

eha kha-i-hu-e	It is possible to eat
eha khua-i-hu-e	It is possible to make eat
eha kha-i-he-u-th-il-a	It was possible to eat
eha khua-i-he-u-th-il-a	It was possible to make eat, etc.

In full expansion of the structure,

Ex.

1. completive

simple	causative	
mũ kɔr-i-de-u-ch-i	kɔra-i-de-u-ch-i	I am doing(fully)/I am getting it done(fully)
tu kɔr-i-de-u-ch-u	kɔra-i-de-u-ch-u	
se kɔr-i-de-u-ch-i	kɔra-i-de-u-ch-i	
ame kɔr-i-de-u-ch-u	kɔra-i-de-u-ch-u	
ame kɔr-i-de-u-ch-e	kɔra-i-de-u-ch-e	
tume kɔr-i-de-u-ch-ɔ	kɔra-i-de-u-ch-ɔ	
semane kɔr-i-de-u-ch-ɔnti	kɔra-i-de-u-ch-ɔnti	

2. passive

eha kɔr-a-he-i-ch-i	It has been done
eha kɔr-a-he-i-tha-e	It is usually being done
eha kɔr-a-he-i-th-il-a	It was done
eha kɔr-a-he-i-th-ib-ɔ	It might have been done, etc
eha kɔr-a-he-u-ch-i	It is getting done
eha kɔr-a-he-u-tha-e	It is usually being done
eha kɔr-a-he-u-th-il-a	It was being done
eha kɔr-a-he-u-th-ib-ɔ	It might be getting done
eha kɔr-a-he-u-tha-ant-a	If it were getting done, etc.

(v) imperative

1. root-mood person:
   root-simple, causative
   mood person – 2nd singular, 2nd familiar, 2nd honorific.

simple	causative	
tu kɔr	tu kɔra	You do/You make it do
tume kɔr-ɔ	tume kɔra-ɔ	You(familiar) do/ You make it do
apɔṇɔ kɔr-ɔntu	apɔṇɔ kɔra-ntu	You(hon.) do/

2. root – i/u – auxiliary-mood person:

Ex.

tu kɔr-i-tha, kɔra-i-tha-You have done/You get it done
tume kɔr-i-tha-ɔ, kɔra-i-tha-ɔ-You (familiar)
apɔṇɔ kɔr-i-tha-antu, kɔra-i-tha-antu -You (honorific)
tu kɔr-u-tha, kɔra-u -tha-You be doing/ You make it be doing
tume kɔr-u-tha-ɔ, kɔra-u-tha-ɔ
apɔṇɔ kɔr-u-tha-antu, kɔra-u-tha-antu

3. root – completive – subsidiary – (-i/u – auxiliary) - mood person:

Ex.

tu kɔr-i-de,kɔra-i-de-You do it(fully)/ You get it done (fully)
tume kɔr-i-di-ɔ, kɔra-i-di-ɔ - They
apɔṇɔ kɔr-i-di-ɔntu kɔra-i-di-ɔntu

(vi) Optative

1. root – mood person:
   root – simple, causative
   mood person – 3rd singular and plural

Ex.

se kɔr-u, kɔra-u-Let him do/ Let him make do

semane kɔr-ɔntu, kɔra-ntu -They

2. root-i/u – auxiliary – mood person:

Ex.

se kɔr-i-tha-u, kɔra-i-tha-u-Let him have it done/ Let him have got it done

semane kɔr-i-tha-antu, kɔra-i-tha-antu- They

3. root-completive – subsidiary – mood person:

This structure is also possible in Oriya optative mood with completive thematic vowel –i and subsidiaries like de, ja, pɔka, etc.

Ex.

se kɔr-i-de-u – Let him do(fully)

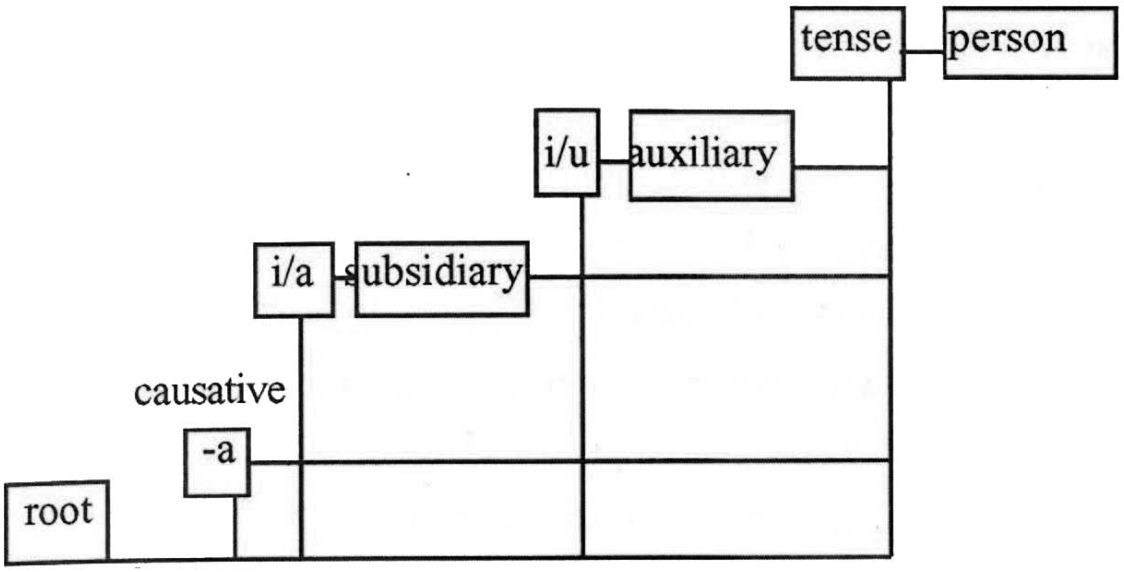
semane kɔr-i-di-ɔntu - Let them do(fully), etc.

Other subsidiaries can also occur in this structure: se kɔr-i-sar-u – Let him finish, semane kɔr-i-ja-antu – Let them keep on doing, etc. It is also possible to have causative roots with some selected subsidiaries, etc.

It should be noted that many of the English translations given for these Oriya verb forms could be ungrammatical and inaccurate in English. We have tried to give some approximate meaning to match the formal structure of the verb. An effort should be made by the reader to derive the meaning of the verb form from the structure of the verb itself, rather than the 'given' meaning.

6.4

A simple flow-chart for the Oriya finite verb which will produce all the verb processes, excepting the defective imperative and optative mood forms and the negative verb forms, is as follows



possibilities of movement:→, ↑

limitations of movement: ←, ↓

6.4.1

The grammatical processes derived from this chart are:

1. root – tense – person
2. root – causative – tense – person
3. root – i/u – auxiliary – tense – person
4. root – causative – i/u – auxiliary – tense - person
5. root – i/a – subsidiary – tense – person
6. root – causative – i/a – subsidiary – tense – person
7. root – i/a –subsidiary – i/u – auxiliary – tense – person
8. root – causative – i/a – subsidiary –i/u – auxiliary – tense – person

The major inferences to be drawn from the chart are, the constants in a finite verb structure are the root and the tense- person-marker. The first two boxes represent the base, i.e., root and extended or causative root, the third the thematic i/a vowels, the fifth the aspectual i/u vowels, and the last two the inflexional morphemes, tense and person.

The subsidiaries and the auxiliaries as morpheme classes do not have any independent status, as they are presupposed by the thematic and aspectual stem forming vowels respectively. Each box represents a class of morphemes, the members of which are mutually exclusive.

(i) categories of verb nucleus,

1. simple base: (present, past, future, conditional)
2. extended base: (causative)
3. i stem – completive (with subsidiaries)
4. a stem – passive (with subsidiaries)

(ii) categories of non – nucleus part,

1. –i- perfect (with auxiliaries)
2. –u- imperfect (with auxiliaries)
3. person – 7 term – singular: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, plural: 1st(excl.), 1st (incl.), 2nd, 3rd

   1 term – 3rd singular (empty morph)

   3 term – imperative (2nd person only)

   2 term – optative (3rd person only)

   The last two categories are not to be derived from the chart
4. tense – present (unmarked), past, future, conditional

6.5

Although, no effort has been made to derive the negative paradigms from the above chart however, they can be easily derived from it, with a few simple extra rules.

There are two types of negative devices which negativise the finite verbs. The first is a negative auxiliary and the second is a negative particle,

(i) negative auxiliary – The negative auxiliary –n- (full form –nah-) occurs after i/u aspect markers and contrasts with the –ch- auxiliary, i.e., in present tense only,

Ex.

kɔr-u-ch-i :kɔr-u-n-i I am doing/ I am not doing

It has an allomorph –nah-, which occurs only in 3rd person plural,

Ex.

kɔr-u-ch-ɔnti:kɔr-u-nah-anti - They are doing/ They are not doing, etc.

(ii) negative particle – The negative particle nɔ- occurs elsewhere. It has three allomorphs, ni-, nɔ- and na-

Ex.

1. the allomorph ni- (full form nah)) occurs only in simple tense forms after the person marker,

mũ kɔr-e:	mũ kɔr-e-ni	I do/ I do not do
mũ kɔr-il-i:	mũ kɔr-il-i-ni	I did/ I did not do
mũ kɔr-ib-i:	mũ kɔr-ib-i-ni	I will do/I will not do, etc.

1 the second alternant –na occurs only after simple imperative forms,

tu kɔr : tu kɔr-na - You do/You do not do

However, in 2nd (familiar)/ plural –tume and 2nd (honorific) apɔṇɔ, -ni suffix occurs instead of –na,

Ex.

tume kɔr-ɔ : tume kɔr-ɔ-ni - You(fam./pl.) do/ You do not do

apɔṇɔ kɔr-ɔntu: apɔṇɔ kɔr-ɔntu-ni - You(hon.) do/ You do not do

3. The other alternant -nɔ occurs elsewhere, i.e., before –tha- auxiliary

Ex.

mũ kɔr-u-tha-e : mũ kɔr-u-nɔ-tha-e : I usually be doing/ I usually not be doing, and in optative forms, before the root,

Ex.

se kɔr-u : se nɔ-kɔr-u – Let him do/Let him not do, etc.

6.5.1

negative paradigms

(i) root – i/u – auxiliary – tense - person:

root – simple, causative

auxiliary – (-n-/ -nah-)

tense – present

person – 7 term

1. affermative	negative
mũ kɔr-i-ch-i	kɔr-i-n-i- I have done/ I have not done
tu kɔr-i-ch-u	kɔr-i-n-u-
se kɔr-i-ch-i	kɔr-i-n-i
ame kɔr-i-ch-u	kɔr-i-n-u
ame kɔr-i-ch-e	kɔr-i-n-e
tume kɔr-i-ch-ɔ	kɔr-i-n-ɔ
semane kɔr-i-ch-ɔnti	kɔr-i-nah-anti
2.	
mũ kɔr-u-ch-i	kɔr-u-n-i- I am doing/ I am not doing
tu kɔr-u-ch-u	kɔr-u-n-u-
se kɔr-u-ch-i	kɔr-u-n-i
semane kɔr-u-ch-ɔnti	kɔr-u-nah-anti, etc.

(ii) root – tense – person – negative particle(-ni/nahĩ):

root – simple, causative

tense – simple tenses (present, past, future, conditional)

person – 7 term

Ex.

1. mũ kɔr-e	: kɔr-e-ni	I do/ I do not do
mũ kɔr-il-i	: kɔr-il-i-ni	I did/I did not do
mũ kɔr-ib-i	: kɔr-ib-i-ni	I will do/ I will not do
mũ kɔr-ɔnt-i	: kɔr-ɔnt-i-ni	If I do/If I do not do, etc.

2. imperative

tu kɔr	: tu kɔr-na	You do/ You do not do
tume kɔr-ɔ	: tume kɔr-ɔ-ni	You(pl.) do/ You do not do
apɔṇɔ kɔr-ɔntu	: apɔṇɔ kɔr-ɔntu-ni	You(hon.) do/ You do not do

3. root-i/u – negative particle – auxiliary – tense - person

1. root – simple, causative

negative particle -nɔ-

auxiliary - -th-

tense – present, past, future, conditional

person – 7 term

Ex.

mũ kɔr-u-tha-e	: kɔr-u-nɔ-tha-e – I usually be doing/ I usually be not doing
mũ kɔr-u-th-il-i	: kɔr-u-nɔ-th-il-i – I was doing/ I was not doing
mũ kɔr-u-th-ib-i	: kɔr-u-nɔ-th-ib-i – I shall be doing/ I will not be doing
mũ kɔr-u-tha-ant-i	: kɔr-u-nɔ-tha-ant-i –If I be doing/ If I be not doing, etc

4. Optative

se kɔr-u : se nɔ-kɔr-u : Let him do/ Let him not do

semane kɔr-ɔntu : semane nɔ-kɔr-ɔntu – Let them do/ Let them not do

6.6

As stated earlier the finite verb forms based on verb roots is a simple or a compound verb. The third type which is formed on a 'nominal' is a complex verb. The nominal could be a noun, adjective or even an onomatopoeic word,

Ex.

1. from noun:

mũ bibahɔ kɔr-il-i	I married
mũ raja he-l-i	I became king
mũ ascɔrjyɔ he-l-i	I was surprised

2. from adjective:

mũ bhɔlɔ pa-il-i	I liked
mũ gɔrɔm kɔr-il-i	I heated

3. from onomatopoeic :

mũ jhɔṇjhɔṇ kɔr-il-i	I jingled

6.6.1

The nominal verbs depending upon the co-occurence of subsidiary verbs fall into two types: idiomatic and productive,

(i) The idiomatic verbs are formed only with specific or fixed subsidiaries and are semantically unique,

Ex.

bhɔlɔ pa-il-i

good get-MTP – I loved

phoṭɔ uṭha-il-i

photo lift-MTP – I photographed

ghuṅguṛi mar-il-i
snore make-MTP – I snored
jhaṛa pher-il-i
stool return-MTP – I passed stool, etc.

(ii) The productive verbs are formed only with a fixed number of subsidiaries like, he-, kɔr-, de-, ne- and lag-, which occur productively with the nominals without any semantic uniqueness of these subsidiaries, the first four occur in the 7 term sentence frame,

Ex.

ascɔrjyɔ he-l-i
surprise become-MTP – I was surprised
ḍaktɔr he-l-i
doctor become-MTP - I became a doctor
citkarɔ kɔr-il-i
shout do-MTP – I shouted
puja kɔr-il-i
worship do-MTP – I worshipped
gaḷi de-l-i
scolding give – MTP - I rebuked
santwɔna de-l-i
consolation give-MTP – I consoled
asrɔyɔ ne-l-i
shelter take-MTP – I took shelter
udharɔ ne-l-i
borrowing take-MTP – I borrowed, etc.

The last subsidiary lag- 'to continue' occurs exclusively in the 1 term mɔ-te - to me, frame,

Ex.

mɔ-te ambɔ bhɔlɔ lag-e

me-to mango good like-MTP – I like mango (lit.mango tastes good to me)

mɔ-te ḍɔrɔ lag-e

me-to fear feel-MTP – I feel afraid

ta-ku nidɔ lag-e

him-to sleep feel –MTP – He feels sleepy, etc.

The former four subsidiaries are also semantically paired, i.e., he- / kɔr- and ne-/de-, roughly meaning, -action done to oneself/ action done to some one else,

Ex.

mũ bhɔlɔ he-l-i

I well be-MTP – I got well

mũ bhɔlɔ kɔr-il-i

I well do-MTP – I cured (some one)

mũ raji he-l-i

I agreed be-MTP – I agreed

mũ raji kɔr-il-i

I agreed do-MTP – I made (someone) agree

mũ hisab ne-l-i

I account take-MTP – I took the accounts

mũ hisab de-l-i

I account give-MTP – I gave the accounts

Particularly, in the case of borrowed Sanskrit nominals, the nouns when changed to adjectives, they undergo certain morphological changes,

mũ prɔsɔnsa kɔli

I praise did – I praised

mũ prɔsɔnsitɔ heli

I praise did – I was praised

mũ dukhɔ kɔli

I sorrow did – I became sorry
mũ dukhitɔ heli
I sorry became – I was sorry
mũ cinta kɔli
I worry did – I worried
mũ cintitɔ heli
I worry became – I was worried

Although, the he-/ kɔr pair contrasts in the above examples, in some frames, particularly when the base is an onomatopoeic word, they may freely vary,

mũ bɔkbɔk kɔr-u-ch-i ~ he-u-ch-i I am blabbering
chati dhɔṛɔdhɔṛɔ kɔr-u-ch-i ~ he-u-ch-i – Heart is palpitating

6.7

From the point of distribution of finite verbs in a sentence, the sentences fall into three types: simple, compound and complex. A simple sentence consists of only one finite verb while the other two types may have more than one finite verb. The sentence is a construction of two constituents, i.e., subject + predicate. The predicate is a verb phrase consisting of a verb which must be in concord with the subject and agree with the former with regard to the person-number,

Ex.

mũ taṅkɔ ghɔrɔku gɔli - I went to his house
tu taṅkɔ ghɔrɔku gɔlu – You went to his house
semane taṅkɔ ghɔrɔku gɔle – They went to his house, etc.

From the point of this subject + verb agreement, the sentences fall into two types: 7 term sentence given the person-number of subject as above, and 1 term sentence where the subject is restricted to 3rd person singular only,

Ex.

bɔrsa heuchi – It is raining
eha kɔlɔmre lekhihue – It is possible to write with pen, etc

The verb when formed with a root or an extended root, it is a simple verb, i.e., mũ kɔre – I do, mũ kɔrae – I make do, etc. When the verb nucleus has a subsidiary verb, it is a compound verb i.e., mũ khaideli – I ate fully, mũ khaiparili – I could eat, etc. The third type of verb is a complex verb when the verb nucleus is formed on a nominal, i.e., mũ ascɔrjyɔ heli – I was surprised, mũ bhɔlɔ paili – I loved, etc. Depending upon the verbs, the sentences can be called,

i. tense sentences, which have 4 term tense and 7 term person
ii. mood sentences, which have 3 term person in imperative and 2 term person in optative
iii. Copula sentences which have a copula verb or Be – verb in the predicate. The copula verbs in Oriya are, ɔchi, (ɔṭe), thae, nahĩ, nuhẽ and hue. The two verbs nahĩ and nuhẽ are negative verbs. Although, the ɔṭe verb is virtually obsolete and no longer occurs either in spoken or written standards its negative counterpart nuhẽ must occur in all cases,

Ex.

mũ raja (ɔṭe) – I am king
mũ raja nuhẽ - I am not king
mũ raja thae – I used to be king
mũ raja nahĩ– I am no longer king
mũ raja ɔchi – I am existing as king
mũ raja hue – I become king
aji rɔbibar (ɔṭe) – Today is Sun-day
aji rɔbibar nuhẽ - Today is not Sun-day, etc.

6.8

The verb piece in Oriya could be finite or non-finite. The finite verb by definition is closed by a person-number marker. The person-number marker could be contrastive, i.e., 2/3 term to 7 term. It could be non-contrastive, i.e., restricted to 1 term only, i.e., 3rd singular. The structure of the finite verb is, verb-base – (aspect – auxiliary) – tense/

mood – person-number and optionally the negative

The finite verb is structurally divided into two parts, nucleus and non-nucleus. The verb base forms are the nucleus part and the rest non-nucleus.

The verb base is divided into two types, copular and non – copular. Copular bases are six in number, (ɔṭ), ɔch-, tha-, he-, nuh- and nah. As copular verbs they do not take aspect and mood markers, except he- and tha-. The other type of bases are non-copular. Non-copular bases are of three types, simple, compound and complex.

A simple verb base can be a root or an extended root,

Ex. mũ bɔse – I sit

mũ bɔsae – I make sit, etc.

The compound base consists of a verb base –i/a thematic vowel-subsidiary. The opposition between root and extended root is neutralized before the thematic –a morpheme. A thematic vowel must necessarily take a subsidiary verb,

Ex.

mũ bɔsi pɔṛili – I sat down

eha kɔra gɔla – It was done

The complex type consists of a nominal + subsidiary,

Ex.

mũ taku dɔṇḍɔ deli – I punished him

The structure of the non-copular verb base is,

Simple base → ⌜root
⌞root –a

Compound base → simple base – thematic vowels – subsidiary

Complex base → nominal + subsidiary

The roots have three functions, i.e., Vi, Vt and Vtt. The expansion of the root by –a may bring changes in the function of the root, i.e., an

Vi (intransitive) may become Vt(transitive) and Vtt (double transitive). Or, it may simply bring the semantic changes in which case it does not change the grammatical function of the verb,

Ex.

mũ bhatɔ khae – I eat rice (Vt)

mũ taku bhatɔ khuae – I make him eat rice (Vtt)

but,

mũ bɔhi aṇuchi – I am bringing book (Vt)

mũ bɔhi ɔṇauchi – I am getting the book brought (Vt)

To this class also belong a few paired verb roots like, nigiṛ/nigaṛ - to pour, upuṛ/upaṛ - to uproot etc., where the function of the verb is changed from Vi to Vt by internal vowel change,

Ex.

telɔ nigiṛuchi – Oil is leaking (Vi)

mũ telɔ nigaṛuchi – I am pouring oil (Vt)

There are also a number of –a ending roots like gadha-to take bath, muṇḍa – to carry on head, etc. which cannot be extended by adding –a.

The subsidiaries fall into two types, universal and restricted. Subsidiaries like, par-, sar-, merely modify the meaning of the verb base,

Ex

mũ bɔse – I sit

mũ bɔsipare – I can sit, etc.

Those subsidiaries which are restricted by the function of the verb base are called restricted. For example, ja-, pɔṛ-,uṭh-, occur generally with intransitive verb bases and others with transitives. However, ja- occurs after both the thematic vowels –i and –a. It has

more functions compared to other two subsidiaries.

There are also a number of verb roots which function as verb bases, however, they cannot occur without a subsidiary or as a simple root. Roots like bhusuṛ - to collapse, rɔṭ- to spread etc., belong to this group.

The non-nucleus part of the finite verb consists of aspect-auxiliary-tense/mood-person number markers. aspect-auxiliary, morphologically goes as a single unit, i.e., aspectual morphemes must take an auxiliary.

There are two aspects: perfect and imperfect,

aspect → perfect
imperfect

perfect → i

imperfect → u

The auxiliaries which occur after aspects are three, -ch-, -tha- and –n-, the last one being a negative auxiliary. –ch- and –tha-, both occur only in present and mean 'definite' and 'indefinite' respectively. In all other tenses and moods, the opposition between –ch- and –tha- is neutralized and only –tha- occurs. –tha- has two allomorphs, -th- and –tha-. –tha- occurs in definite present, conditional tense, and in mood structures; -th- occurs in past and future tenses. As regards the negative auxiliary –n-, it occurs after the aspects in the definite present substituting the auxiliary –ch; elsewhere it is only a particle -nɔ. There are four tenses,

present
past
future
conditional

tense →

present → unmarked

past → -l- he-, ja-, kɔr-, mɔr-, de-, ne-
-il- elsewhere

future → -b- he-, de-, ne-
-ib- elsewhere

conditional → -ant- mono-morphemic roots, subsidiaries and auxiliaries ending in -a
-nt- di-morphemic bases ending in –a
-ɔnt- elsewhere

There are two moods

mood → imperative
optative

imperative → non-honorific 2nd person→ unmarked.
familiar – 2nd person →- ɔ
honorific 2nd person → -ɔntu/-antu/-ntu

optative → 3rd person singular → -u
3rd person plural → -ntu

Both the mood verbs can be extended further by aspect-auxiliary.

Person-number: These are closing morphemes of the finite verb. The contrastive markers are 7 term and the non-contrastive

marker is 1 term which is identical in form to 3rd sg.

person – number →
- 1st sg.
- 2nd sg.
- 3rd sg.
- 1st plural (exclusive)
- 1st pl. (inclusive)
- 2nd pl.
- 3rd pl.

1st. sg. →
- -e/ present, auxiliary tha-
- -i/ elsewhere

2nd. sg. → -u

3rd. sg →
- -e/ present, auxiliary tha-
- -ɔ/future tense morpheme
- -i/ auxiliary ch-
- -a/ elsewhere

1st. pl. excl. → -u

1st. pl. incl .→
- -a/ future tense morpheme
- -e~ ẽ /elsewhere

2nd. pl. → -ɔ

3rd pl. →
- -i/ conditional tense
- -e/ future and past tenses
- -anti/ monomorphemic roots and subsidiaries ending in –a, present tense and auxiliary –tha
- -ɔnti/ a closed syllable, an open monosyllabic final –a
- -nti/ elsewhere

Negatives:

There are three classes of negatives,

1. copula class
2. auxiliary class
3. negative → verb negation

Copula class has been dealt with under copular verb (see. 6.6).

Auxiliary class has been dealt under auxiliary. (see. 6.2.1.2)

In all other cases negation is marked as verb-negative. The negative morpheme – ni is realized as,

1. verb -ni (-na in case of 2nd. sg. imperative)
2. verb -nɔ-

6.9

The non-finite verbs do not take person markers and do not show concord with the subject. But they are formed upon verb roots

Ex.

mũ bhatɔ kha-i gɔ-l-i	- I went after eating
tu bhatɔ kha-i gɔ-l-u	- You went after eating
se bhatɔ kha-i gɔ-l-a	- He went after eating, etc.

6.9.1

The following is a list of various types of non-finite verbs,

1. root–i

Ex.

mũ bhatɔ kha-i skulku ja-e - I go to school after eating rice

mũ bhatɔ khua-i skulku ja-e - I go to school after feeding (making eat) rice

These verbs also can be reduplicated,

Ex.

mũ bhatɔ kha-i kha-i skulku jae – I go to school while eating rice.

This non-finite form when reduplicated may take simple/causative roots as given above, or it may be a mixed construction of different kinds of roots, i.e., simple, causative/ passive/ verbal nouns.

Ex.

pilamane mɔr-a mɔr-i heuchɔnti – Children are fighting among themselves

amɔ pɔḍh-a pɔḍh-i se dekhuchɔnti – He is looking after our studies

sesɔku hat-a hat-i pɔrjyɔntɔ kɔtha gɔla – Finally the matter went up to physical assaults.

The non-finite verb can be negated by taking a negative prefix nɔ-

Ex.

mũ nɔ-kha-i̯ bi kheḷibi – I will play even without eating.

2. root –u

This non-finite verb occurs only in reduplication,

Ex.

mũ ja-u ja-u pɔṛigɔli – I fell down while going

But when the form is negated, it can occur singly, but it must take an additional suffix -ṇu. The -ṇu can perhaps be treated as a discontinuous part of the negative prefix nɔ-,

Ex.

mũ nɔ-kɔh-u-ṇu se kɔhidele – Before I spoke, he said.

3. root - ile

Ex.

se kha-ile skul jibe - After he ate, he will go to the school.

se nɔ-kha-ile jibeni - Unless he ate, he will not go

se nɔ-dekha-ile tume bujhi paribɔ nahĩ– Unless he showed you will not be able to understand

4. root - ɔnte

This form is nearly obsolete, but it may occur in restricted environments,

Ex.

semane kɔh-ɔnte ame raji heijiba – After they say, we will agree

There are also a few verbal nouns including infinitives which are formed with roots,

Ex.

1. root - iba

taṅkɔrɔ lekh-iba dwara ame upɔkrutɔ helu – We benefitted because of his writing

ghɔrɔ kiṇ-iba kete durɔ gɔla – How far did you go with buying house?

2. root -a

taṅkɔrɔ lekh-a bhari sundɔr – His writing is very pretty

3. root -ila

mũ dekh-ila –ru semane birɔktɔ hele – They were cross because of my seeing

4. root -ɔnta

cɔḷ-ɔnta gaṛire cɔḍhɔ nahĩ– Do not get into a moving train

as-ɔnta bɔrsɔ bhɔlɔ bɔrsa hebɔ -It will have good rains coming year

5. root - ɔ

taṅkɔ rag-ɔ dekhi mũ ḍɔrigɔli – I was afraid seeing his anger.

tumɔ hɔs-ɔ tumɔ kand-ɔ ṭharu sundɔr – Your smile is more pleasing than your crying.

There are a few other non-finite morphemes which occur with verb roots, although they may not be very productive,

Ex.

1. root –i

   taṅkɔ cal-i sɔmɔstɔṅkɔṭharu bhinnɔ - His walking is different from all others

   nɔi bɔḍh-i prɔti bɔrsɔ ase – Every year floods come

2. root - ɔṇɔ

   amɔ jɔṇa -ṇɔ bhɔgɔban suṇibe – God will listen to our prayer

   e bɔrsɔ bi eṭhi jhul-ɔṇɔ heithila – This year too, the swing festival took place here.

3. root -ɔṇa

   e oḍh-ɔṇa sṭrimanɔṅkɔ paĩ – This head –covering is for women

   e gaiṭa bhari bindh-ɔṇa – This cow is very aggressive

4. root -aṇi

   gɔṛ-aṇi-re saikel cɔlaiba mɔja – It is fun going down hill by a cycle

   tumɔ cãh-aṇi-ru mũ bujhi parili – I could understand from your looking

5. root – ura

   se pilaṭa bɔṛɔ kand-ura

   That child is a cry baby

   mut-ura pila kebɔḷɔ ta ma pakhɔre soipare

   A bed-wetting child could sleep only with his mother

6. root - aḷi

   e kheḷ-aḷi-mane bɔhu durɔru asichɔnti – These players have come from a long distance

   se jɔṇe gɔchɔ cɔḍh-aḷi – He is a climber of tree.

7. root – ua

e bimanɔ ləḍh-ua bimanɔ nuhĕ - This plane is not a fighter plane

e bɔhi pɔḍh-ua pilaṅkɔ paĩ uddiṣṭɔ - this book is meant for studious children

(Note – some of these lastly cited suffixes however, generally occur with simple roots only)

CHAPTER- VII

Indeclinable

7.1

Words which do not undergo any morphological change in terms of number, gender, person, etc, in agreement with the subject in a sentence are indeclinable words. In Oriya, this is a mixed bag of many monomorphemic words with various kinds of grammatical function, i.e., the adjectives of adjectives like, ɔti-very, ɔtyɔntɔ - exceedingly, etc., adverbs like cɔncɔḷɔ - quickly, hɔṭat - suddenly, etc., conjunctives like, au – and , ba-or, etc., interjections like, aha- of joy, alas!, chi – of disgust, etc. interrogatives like, kɔ:ṇɔ - what, ki – question, etc., the non-finite verbs like, jai – going, jau jau –while going, etc. Even, the proper adjectives are becoming increasingly like indeclinables as the gender modification for most of them are becoming redundant.

7.2

(i) adjectives of adjectives

Ex.

ɔti – very, bhari – very, khub – very, ɔtyɔntɔ - exceedingly, ḍher-much, enough

1. radha khub sundɔri thile – Radha was very pretty
2. pilaṭi ɔtyɔntɔ santɔ - The child is very quite

3. e luga ḍher dami – This cloth is more costly

(ii) adjectives of verbs or adverbs

Ex.

cɔncɔḷɔ - quickly, sighrɔ - quickly, hɔṭat – suddenly, dɔibat – accidentally, ɔkɔsmat – by chance, bes – appreciably, adɔu – hardly

1. cɔncɔḷɔ jaɔ - Go quickly
2. taṅkɔ sɔhitɔ dɔibat dekha hoigɔla – Accidentally a meeting with him took place

(iii) non-finite verbs

Ex.

jai – going, jaujau – while going, gɔle – if did go

1. ghɔre jai khaɔ - Eat after going home
2. mũ jaujau taṅku bheṭili – While going, I met him
3. tume gɔle se asibe – After you go, he would come

(iv) conjunctives – indeclinables which join words or sentences

Ex.

au-and, ebɔṅ – and, o- and, pu:ṇ i – again, ahuri – more, mɔdhyɔ -also, ɔdhikɔntu – moreover, ki-ki – as well as,

1. mũ au hɔri jibu – I and Hari will go
2. se jibe pu:ṇi pheribe – He will go, will return again.
3. ki hɔri ki ramɔ, kehi mo kɔtha suṇile nahĩ – Nither Hari nor Ramɔ, listened to me.
4. apɔṇɔ kuhɔntu, ɔdhikɔntu prɔthɔme suṇɔntu – You speak but listen first.

(v) disjunctives – indeclinables which separate words or sentences

Ex.ba – or, kintu – but, kimba – or, ɔthɔba – or, na- or, nɔcet – otherwise, nɔhele - otherwise, tɔthapi – even then, pɔrɔntu – moreover

1. mũ jibi ba se jibɔ - Either he will go or I will go
2. mũ jibi na tume jibɔ - Will I go or he?
3. mũ jaipare tɔthapi kamɔ hebɔ nahĩ – I might go, neverthless, the work will not be done.

(vi) causative – which join words citing reasons.

Ex. jehetu – because, teṇu – therefore, tahele – then, jɔdiba – in case, ɔtɔebɔ - therefore, kaḷe –supposing, karɔṇɔ - because

1. tume bhul kɔrichɔ, ɔtɔeb tume dosi – You have made mistakes, therefore you are guilty
2. tume ɔbɔsyɔ jibɔ, karɔṇɔ se tumɔrɔ bhai – You must go, because he is your brother
3. mũ ɔḷɔsua, teṇu dɔridrɔ - I am lazy, so I am poor

(vii) temporal – which signify time

Ex. tɔtkhyɔṇat – at once, ta:pɔre – then, sɔrbɔda – always, sɔmprɔti – now, eine/eina – now

1. jai tɔtkhyɔṇat phɛrɔ - Going there return at once
2. age suṇɔ, ta:pɔre lekhɔ - Listen first, then write
3. sɔrbɔda tume mo:rɔ mɔne rɔhibɔ - You will be in my mind always.

(viii) delimiting – which delimits the meaning.

Ex. bɔrɔncɔ - rather, bɔrɔṅ – rather, matrɔ - but, hele – rather

1. mũ jiba ɔpekhya bɔrɔṅ tume jaɔ - You go rather than me.
2. kheḷɔ matrɔ kamɔ bi kɔrɔ - Do play but also work
3. mũ asibi heḷe rɔhibini – I will come yet will not stay.

(ix) explainative – which explains a meaning

Ex.

je – that, ɔrthat - meaning thereby, mane – meaning, jɔtha – for example, adi – etcetra, ityadi – etc.

1. se kɔhila je se asibɔ - He said that he will come
2. se raji ɔrthat se baha hebɔ - He is agreeable meaning thereby he will marry
3. lekhɔ, pɔḍhɔ, pɔrisrɔmɔ kɔrɔ ityadi upɔdesɔ deba sɔhɔjɔ - Write, study, work hard etc. are easy to advise

(x) negative – which negates a sentence

Ex. na- no, nɔcet – otherwise

1. na, aji etiki – No, it is enough for today
2. cali jaɔ, nɔcet dhɔra pɔṛibɔ - Go away, otherwise you will be caught

(xi) reduplicative

Ex. barɔmbarɔ - again and again, laglag – continuously, ghɔnɔ ghɔnɔ - repeatedly, dhire dhire – slowly, aste aste – carefully

1. se barɔmbarɔ asuchɔnti – He is coming again and again
2. aji laglag bɔrsa heuchi – It is raining continuously today
3. aste aste calɔ - Walk slowly

(xii) onomatopoeic – these are usually reduplicated, but when a part occurs only, they take a morpheme like kina or kɔri

Ex.

1. se duldul hoi cale – She walks resoundingly
2. se dul kina pɔṛigɔla – She fell down making a sound
3. se ṭhoṭho hoi hɔsiuṭhile – He laughed very loudly
4. se ṭho kina hɔsi dele – He blurted out a laugh

Many of these onomatopoeic words by changing one of the vowels, signify a variation in sound,

5. gɔchɔru duldal hoi nɔṛia pɔṛuchi – Coconuts are falling from the tree resoundingly (mixed noise)
6. se ṭhoṭha kɔri dui capuṛa marile – He gave two resounding slaps (mixed sounds)

7.3

Interjection,

Ex

1. joy – ha, bah, sundɔr, cɔmɔtkar, sabas, bes
2. surprise – ã, oho, ẽ
3. disgust – chi, dhat, bhak, dur, thu, hek
4. grief – oh, ah, aha
5. affirmation - hɔ̃, agyã, nisce/ niscɔy, accha, hɔu – okay, ɔbɔsyɔ, ṭhik
6. negation – nah, uhũ, na
7. address – hei, he, ahe, hɔyo, kio, re, are, lo, alo, ago, agyã, be, abe
8. interrogation - kɔ:ṇ ɔ, ki, kiã, kahĩki

7.4

There are a few clitics mostly monosyllabic in structure which occur usually in sentence-final positions triggering intonational change and meaning. Like the negative particle na and interrogative ki, these are also indeclinables,

Ex.

1. ki – tume jibɔ-ki – Will you go?
2. na – tume jibɔ na – You sure will go?/ You will go, or else

3. tɔ - tume jibɔ tɔ - You sure will go/ If you will go
4. mɔ - tume jibɔ mɔ - You of course will go
5. ṭi – tume jibɔ ṭi– Please go
6. sina – tume jibɔ sina – You might go, but
7. pɔra – tume jibɔ pɔra – Won't you be going!
8. hõ - tume jibɔ hõ - Okay, you will go, but
9. i/hĩ – tume jibɔ hĩ – Indeed you will go

7.5

The post-positions in Oriya are a group of free forms which are usually attached to the genetive case or the oblique base of the nouns and pronouns. They have a case – like function or adverbial function in the sentence,

Ex

ɔpekhya – se mo ɔpekhya cɔturɔ - He is wittier than me

ɔnusare – tume kamɔ ɔnusare dɔrɔma paibɔ - You will be paid according to the work

kɔrtrukɔ - pulis kɔrtrukɔ corɔ dhɔra hoi asichi – The thief arrested by police has been brought

dwara – se mo: dwara upɔkrutɔ - He is benefitted by me

chɔṛa – mo: chɔṛa seṭhi au kehi nahanti – There are no one other than me

nimɔnte - tumɔ nimɔnte e ayojɔnɔ - This paraphernalia is for you

pɔre - tumɔ pɔre kie – Who is after you?

paĩ – mo: paĩ kɔ:ṇɔ aṇichɔ - What have you brought for me?

prɔti - taṅkɔ prɔti mo:rɔ dɔya nahĩ – I have no mercy for him.

jogu - taṅkɔ jogu tume bɔṛɔ heichɔ - You have prospered because ofhim

lagi – kaha lagi e byɔstɔta? – For whom is this concern?

bina – mo: bina tumɔrɔ ɔnyɔ gɔti nahĩ – You have no way other than me

byɔtitɔ - tumɔ byɔtitɔ au kehi jibe nahĩ – No one else will go other than you

sɔhitɔ - mo: sɔhitɔ tumɔrɔ kɔuṇɔsi sɔmbɔndhɔ nahĩ – You have no relationship with me

sɔhɔkare - ascɔrjyɔ sɔhɔkare ame pherilu – We returned with surprise

hetu - amɔ ceṣṭa hetu tume sɔphɔḷɔ helɔ - You succeeded because of our efforts.

sɔkase - amɔ sɔkase byɔstɔ huɔ nahĩ – Do not worry for us

pɔrjyɔntɔ - deuḷɔ pɔrjyɔntɔ jai pheri asɔ - Return after going up to temple

CHAPTER- VIII

Sentence

8.1

The major Oriya sentence constructions fall into three general structural types: simple, compound and complex. A sentence necessarily consists of two parts, a subject part and a predicate part. The subject is generally a noun or a noun phrase and the predicate is a verb or a verb phrase. A simple sentence by definition consists of a single finite verb. When two or more simple sentences are conjoined within a sentence, in a co-ordinate relation, it is a compound sentence. A complex sentence also consists of more than one sentence but unlike the compound sentences, in the complex sentence, all other sentences are subordinate to one principal sentence.

Ex.

1. simple sentence

   mũ jibi – I will go

   NP + VP

2. compound sentence

   se jibe au mũ jibi – He will go and I will go

   NP+VP+conjunctive+NP+VP

3. complex sentence

   jɔdi mũ pheribi tahale jibi – If I will return then I will go

   suboridinating+NP+VP+suboridinating+ (NP)+VP

   conjunctive conjunctive

   subordinating conjunctive (discontinuous) – if .... then

8.2

A simple sentence must necessarily consist of two parts, a subject and a predicate, which may or may not be overt,

Ex.

1. mũ jibi – I will go

   sub.+pred.

2. sar, jibi – Sir, I will go

   (vocative) Voc. +(NP)+VP

3. sar, mũ - Sir, it is I (Sir, I am)

   Voc.+NP+(VP)

8.2.1

In a simple sentence the subject is normally a noun phrase with a noun in the nominative as head of the construction, a pronoun, or other adjuncts of the subject. The adjuncts which are a part of the NP are adjectives including numerals and numeral classifiers, adjectives of adjectives, genitives and verbal nouns-

Ex.

1. noun

   gaṛi jibɔ - The train will go

   NP+VP : NP→ noun

2. pronoun

   mũ jibi – I will go

   NP+VP :NP → pronoun

3. nua gaṛi jibɔ - The new train will go

   NP +VP : NP → adj. + noun

4. duiṭa gaṛi jibɔ - Two trains will go

   NP+ VP : NP→ numeral + noun

5. dui jɔṇɔ pila jibe – Two children will go

   NP + VP : NP → numeral +classifier (human) + noun

6. besi durɔ gaṛi jibɔ - Very far going train will go

   NP + VP : NP→ adj.of adj. + adj. + noun

7. dɔkhiṇɔrɔ gaṛi jibɔ - South going train will go

   NP + VP : NP → genitive + noun

8. asithiba gaṛi jibɔ - The train that has come will go

   NP + VP : NP→ verbal noun + noun

9. ḍerire asithiba gaṛi jibɔ - The train that has arrived late will go

   NP + VP : NP → time + verbal noun + noun

10. kɔlikɔtaru ḍerire asithiba gaṛi jibɔ - The train that has come late from Calcutta will go

    NP+ VP : NP → place (from) + time + verbal noun + noun

8.2.2

In a simple sentence the predicate consists of one or more postposition/ case phrases followed by a verb phrase. A case/ postposition phrase which relate it to the following main verb is generally a noun phrase followed by a post position/ case marker. A verb phrase mainly consists of an intransitive (Vi), transitive/ causative (Vt) or a double transitive verb(Vtt). If the verb is transitive it can be preceded

optionally by a noun phrase which occurs as its direct object. Alternatively, the place of a verb may be taken by a nominal followed by a copula, i.e., Be – verb. If the copula is ọṭe, it does not occur in the sentence as it is almost obsolete. But its negative counterpart nuhẽ must occur when required in all cases. The above description of a sentence with verbal or nominal predicate with or without copula verbs are illustrated below. The finite verb agrees with the subject in number – person which could be 7 term or 1 term, depending upon the sentence construction. Other components of the predicate are : adjectives of verb or adverb, adjectives of adverb, postpositional phrases and case phrases,

Ex.

1. mũ cɔncɔḷɔ jibi – I will go quickly
   NP + VP: VP → adverb + verb
2. mũ khub cɔncɔḷɔ jibi – I will go very quickly
   NP + VP: VP → adj. of adverb + adverb +verb
3. mũ kɔṭɔk pɔrjyɔntɔ jibi – I will go up to Cuttack
   NP + VP: VP → noun + postposition + verb
4. mũ paṇi pi:bi – I will drink water
   NP + VP : VP → object + verb(Vt)
   mũ taku kɔhibi – I will tell him
   NP + VP: VP→ object + verb(Vt)
   mũ ramɔku luga debi – I will give clothes to Rama
   NP + VP : VP→ obj.+obj. +verb(Vtt)
   mũ soibi – I will sleep
   NP+VP :VP → verb(Vi)

5. mũ churire kaṭibi – I will cut with knife

   NP + VP :VP → instrumental (noun) +v

   mũ ciṭhidwara ḍokaibi – I will call by a letter

   NP+ VP : VP → instrumental (noun) + v

6. mũ ghɔru asuchi - I am coming from home

   NP+VP : VP → ablative (noun) + v

   mũ taṅkɔṭhu nebi – I will take from him

   NP + VP: VP → ablative (pronoun) +v

7. mũ kɔṭɔkre rɔhibi – I will stay at Cuttack

   NP + VP: VP→ locative (noun) + v

   mũ taṅkɔṭhi rɔkhibi – I will keep with him

   NP+VP : VP → locative (pronoun) +v

The non-finite verbs occurring in a sentence remain a part of the predicate. The completive however, more often occurs with an indeclinable kɔri in a sentence,

Ex.

1. mũ dɔuṛi dɔuṛi jibi – I will go running

   NP+VP: VP→ reduplicated non-finite +v

   mũ dɔuṛi kɔri jibi – I will go running

   NP+VP :VP → non-finite indeclinable +v

2. mũ jau jau dekhili – I saw while going

   NP+VP :VP → reduplicated non-finite +v

The continuous non-finite verb does not occur singly and has to be reduplicated. However, when it is negativised with a prefix nɔ -, it may occur singly, but it takes another suffix -ṇu to complete the word, mũ nɔjauṇu se caligɔle – He went away before I go. It is also possible to reduplicate the non-finite negative verb with a special meaning,

mũ jau nɔjauṇu se caligɔle – Before I could just go, he left

3. mũ dekhile kɔhibi – I will tell if I see

NP+VP :VP → non-finite + v

mũ nɔdekhile kemiti kɔhibi – How will I say unless I see

NP+ VP : VP → non-finite (negative) + v

8.2.3

The predicate can also be a nominal with or without a copula verb. The nominal could be a noun, pronoun or adjective. The copula verbs 'to be or to become' or their negatives are six in Oriya, (ɔṭ-), tha-, ɔch-, he-, nah- and nuh-. ɔṭe- has become absolete in the spoken language as well as written, but it is usually recalled by the native speaker when in doubt. The copula verbs nah- and nuh- are negatives of ɔch- and ɔṭ- respectively,

Ex.

mũ raja (ɔṭe) – I am the king

NP+VP : VP →n+copula[1]

mũ kie (ɔṭe) – Who am I?

NP+VP : VP → pronoun +copula[1]

mũ ɔndhɔ (ɔṭe) – I am blind

NP + VP: VP → adjective + copula[1]

mũ raja nuhẽ- I am not the king

NP + VP: VP → nominal +copula[2] (negative)

mũ raja ɔchi – I am (existing as) king

NP + VP: VP → nominal + copula [3]

mũ raja nahĩ - I am not (existing as) king

NP + VP: VP → nominal + copula [4] (negative)

mũ raja thae - I used to be the king

NP + VP: VP → nominal + copula [5]

mũ raja hue - I become king

NP + VP: VP → nominal + copula [6]

8.3

Oriya, like most other modern Indo-Aryan languages is an SOV language, and this general order of words in a sentence, i.e., subject + object + verb, is not changed except for stylistic reason or just to break the monotony of normal word order or to give emphasis to a particular part of speech

Ex.

mũ caha piuchi – I am taking tea

subject + object +verb

stylistically, for dramatic effect,

piuchi mũ caha, pɔhɔncigɔle se – I am drinking tea, he arrived

V + S + O, V + S

For emphasis,

caha piuchi, mɔdɔ nuhẽ - (I) am drinking tea, (not alcohol)

O + V , n + copula

dosi mũ, mɔte khyɔma kɔrɔ - I am the culprit, please forgive me

nominal + S, O + V pred.

Barring these possibilities, the normal word order is not changed neither in principal nor in subordinate sentences, be they affermative, negative or interrogative.

When a sentence consists of two objects, the indirect precedes the direct object,

Ex.

se amɔku bɔhi dele – He gave us books

S + Object + Object +V

indirect direct

Nominal, adjectival, pronominal and adverbial adjuncts normally occur immediately before the noun which they qualify,

Ex.

1. hɔrĩbabuṅkɔ puɔ bɔhi pɔḍhuthile – Haribabu's son was reading a book

   nom.adjunct + S + O + V

2. se puruṇa bɔhiṭi neu – Let him take the old book

   S + adj. + O + V

3. se ɔti puruṇa bɔhiṭi neu – Let him take the very old book

   S + adj. + adj. + O +V

   of adj.

4. se khɔṇḍe puruṇa bɔhi neu – Let him take one old book

   S + numeral classifier+ adj. +O +V

5. se mo bɔhiṭi neu – Let him take my book

   S + genitive+ O +V

When a noun is qualified by an adjective and a demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative precedes the adjective,

Ex.

e buḍha rɔja au besi dinɔ bɔncibe nahĩ̃ – This old king will not live very long

demonstrative + adj + S + adverb + V

But, when the demonstrative occurs with a genitive qualifier it follows the latter,

Ex

mo:rɔ ei puɔ bɔṛɔ hele mɔntri hebɔ

genitive +dem.- +S + non-finite V+n +copula V

This son of mine when grows up will be a minister

6. se kiṇithiba bɔhiṭi neu –Let him take the book that has been bought

   S +verbal noun+ O + V

7. taṅkɔrɔ keũ bhai apɔṇɔṅku pɔcarile – Which brother of his asked you?

   genitive + pronominal + S + O + V

8. mũ khɔrabeḷe jibi – I will go at noon

   S + adverb + V

9. tume cabi keũṭhi rɔkhichɔ - Where have you kept the keys?

   S + O + adverb+V

8.4

Concord between subject and verb. When the subject consists of a noun or a pronoun only, the verb must agree with it in person – number,

Ex.

pilaṭie jauchi – A child is going

pilamane jauchɔnti – Children are going

mũ jauchi – I am going

ame jauchu – We are going (excl.)

When the noun is in singular, it takes a singular verb, unless the subject is an honorific. An honorific noun takes an honorific verb, which is same as plural verb,

Ex.

se jauchi – He is going

se/semane jauchɔnti – He(sing.hon.)/ they are going

The divine and celestial nouns must take honorific verbs, unless focused as non-divine/ physical objects. Nouns for kinship terms both male and female, young or old must take honorific verbs depending upon culturally defined norms,

Ex.

bhɔgɔban ɔchɔnti – God exists (hon.)

surjyɔ ũ:chɔnti/ũ:chi – The sun is rising (hon.)/ (non-hon.)

ta bapa asichɔnti – His father has come (hon.)

Some of the collective nouns standing for institutions, organizations, etc., take honorific/ plural verb. But, it may not be always so, and these nouns can take a non-honorific/singular verb without necessarily being very disrespectful,

Ex.

sɔrkar eha kɔriparɔnti/kɔripare – The government might do it (hon.)/(non-hon.)

Some of the nouns standing for professional or livelihoods take hon./non.hon. verb depending upon their social status,

Ex.

ḍaktɔr asichɔnti – The doctor has come (hon.)

jɔjsaheb asichɔnti – The judge has come (hon.)

pulis asichi - The police has come (non-hon.)

corɔ asichi – The thief has come (non.hon.)

Non-human animate nouns for which plural marker is optional, however, must have a plural verb, when plural has to be signified.

Ex

phulɔre pokɔ ɔchɔnti – There are worms in the flower

goru cɔruchɔnti – The cattle are grazing

The inanimate nouns, irrespective of the number take only a singular verb.

Ex.

phulɔre pakhuṛa ɔchi – There are petals in a flower (sig.)

oṛisare ɔnek nɔi ɔchi – There are many rivers in Orissa (sig.)

8.5

The impersonal sentences although consist of a finite verb, the verb does not show any concord with the noun, as the sentence does not have a formal subject. Therefore, an impersonal sentence by definition is a non-concord sentence, in which the verb is limited to 1 term person marker. The closing person marker is same as 3rd singular. There are various kinds of impersonal sentences depending upon the kind of verb, which in all cases remain limited to non-contrastive 1 term person marker. Therefore, in strict structural terms it can not be called a person marker but just an empty formative with the function of closing a finite verb. Only by analogy, we call it a 3rd singular person marker,

Ex

1. e bɔhi pɔḍhi-heuchi – It is possible to read this book

   N + V

2. e bɔhi pɔḍha-heuchi – This book is being read

   N + V

3. mũ / mote/mo:rɔ jibaku ɔchi

   N + infinitive + V

   There is need for my going/ for me to go/I need to go →ame/ amɔku/amɔrɔ jibaku ɔchi – There is need for us to go

   N + infinitive +V

Note that in this frame the above forms of the noun do not make any difference in meaning. In fact, they are almost free variants.

However, this non-concord verb must be differentiated from 1 term concord verb, which is also restricted to 3rd singular person marker in certain types of sentences, not because of any structural restriction but for purely semantic reasons. The 1 term concord verb is restricted because the subject with which the verb is in concord, is usually restricted to an inanimate noun or the so-called 'neuter' noun. In certain cases, where it is possible to change the number of the subject, the verb also changes accordingly,

Ex

1. mɔte ambɔ bhɔlɔ lage – Mango tastes good to me (I like mango)

   N + N + V

   mũ ambɔ bhɔlɔ pae

   N + O + V (7 term)

   Also consider these sentences:

2. mɔte e jhiɔṭi bhɔlɔ lage – I like this girl (Lit. This girl is likeable to me)

   N + N.sing. + V

3. mɔte e jhiɔmane bhɔlɔ lagɔnti – I like these girls

   N + N.pl + V (V in this frame is 7 term)

Other semantically restricted subject,

Ex.

1. bɔrsa heuchi – It is raining

   N + V

2. ghɔṇṭa bajuchi – The bell is ringing
3. phulɔ basuchi – The flower is smelling
4. niã jɔḷuchi – Fire is burning
5. eha disuchi – This is visible

   N + V

6. eha subhuchi – This is audible

   N + V

7. eha miḷuchi – This is available

When the subject consists of more than one animate noun or pronoun and the nouns are connected by a conjunctive either overtly or covertly, the verb should be in plural,

Ex.

1. buḍha au buḍhi cinema jauchɔnti

   N +conj.+N + N + V

   The oldman and the old woman are going to the movie

2. gai bachuri pɔṛiare cɔruchɔnti – Cow and calf are grazing in the field

   N + N + N + V

3. tume o mũ jiba – You and I will go, i.e., We(incl.) will go

   pronoun + conj.+pro-+V

   However, if one of the nouns is inanimate, the verb will be in singular,

4. ramɔ au ta saikɔl jibɔ - Rama and his cycle will go
   N +conj.+geni.+ N + V

   When both the nouns are inanimate, the verb will be singular,

5. ghɔrɔ o bɔgica bikri hebɔ - House and orchard will be sold
   N + conj. + N + V

When the nouns forming the subject are separated by a disjunctive, different things happen to the verb,

6. mũ ba sie jibɔ - Either I or he will go (the V agrees only with the nearest subject and is in singular)
7. mũ ba sie jibu – (I think, this is also possible and the V is plural)

   but, * mũ ba sie jibi – (it never agrees only with the distant noun).

   Normally however, disjointed animate subjects take a plural verb.

8. ramɔ ki hɔri jai parɔnti – Either Rama or Hari may go
   N + disjunc.+N +V
9. ramɔ na hɔri jibe – Will Rama or Hari go?
   N + disjunc. +N +V

Although, it is perhaps possible to use a singular verb only which agrees with the nearest subject,

10. ramɔ na tu jibu – Rama or you will go. However, it is more acceptable to say - ramɔ na tu jibɔ - with a plural verb.

However, to be on the safe side, if one of the nouns is an honorific noun or a pronoun, separate verbs may be used agreeing with each subject,

Ex.

1. ḍaktɔrbabu jibe na bɔhi jibɔ - Would the doctor go or the books?

N (hon.) + V(hon.) +disjunc. +N+V

2. apɔṇɔ jibe nɔhele mo bhai jibɔ - You will go otherwise my brother will go

pronoun+V(hon.) +disjunc. + gen.+N+V

In nominal predicative sentences nouns and adjectives generally remain neutral to the number and gender of the subject. However, when the predicate has a copula verb, it must agree with the subject in person-number,

Ex.

1. mũ ḍaktɔr – I am a doctor

N + N

2. ame ḍaktɔr – We are doctors

N + N

But, 3. mũ ḍaktɔr thili – I was a doctor

N + N + copula(sg.)

4. ame ḍaktɔr thilu – We were doctors

N + N + copula (pl.)

Similarly,

5. ramɔṭa corɔ - Rama is a thief

N + adj.

6. semane corɔ - They are thieves

N + adj.

But,

7. semane corɔ nuhɔnti – They are not thieves

N + adj. + copula(pl.)

In the case of gender agreement between subject and nominal predicate, it is generally optional and even in cases of animate subjects, predicative adjectives are rarely marked for feminine and nouns yet less so, as the unmarked masculine forms can occur without hurting the native speaker's sense of grammatical correctness too much. In any case, there are only a very limited number of gender-marked nouns and adjectives to insist upon their use,

Ex.

1. sita debi ḍaktraṇi – Sita Devi is a lady doctor

   N(fem.) + N(fem.) Or,

2. sitadebi ḍaktor – Sita Devi is a doctor

   N (fem.) + N(unmarked)

It may be noted, in modern society, the second alternative may be more acceptable to women.

8.6

The following description of Oriya sentences deals only with simple sentences which by definition consists of a single finite verb. The bulk of Oriya sentences fall under this type. A simple sentence consists of two constituents, a subject and a predicate, barring a set of sentences which may not have a regular subject. A 'regular subject' must be in concord with the verb. The concord between the subject and the predicate is taken as the main criterion for dividing sentences into concord and non-concord types. Concord is defined as the agreement in person – number between the subject and the predicate. A non-concord type of sentence has the person-number marker restricted to 1 term only and can either have a subject or be subject less. Such sentences are therefore, called impersonal sentences. Sub-types of impersonal sentences depend upon the types of verb occurring in the predicate.

8.7

A concord type sentence has a subject in nominative case and has contrastive person-number markers in predicate. Depending upon the type of predicate, concord sentences are divided into three sub-types:

1. tense sentences - 7 term concord
2. mood sentences - 3 term in imperative and 2 term in optative concord
3. copula sentences - terms differ from 7 to 2 term concord depending upon the sub-type of copula

Two more additional parameters, i.e., occurrence of particular verbs and the internal constituent structure of sentences are also made use of in distinguishing the sub-types.

The negative and interrogative sentences are formed upon simple sentences by the process of addition of negative and interrogative words or markers respectively. The latter type of sentences can also be made by appropriate intonational modulation.

Otherwise,

1. sentence + negation
2. sentence + interrogation

8.7.1

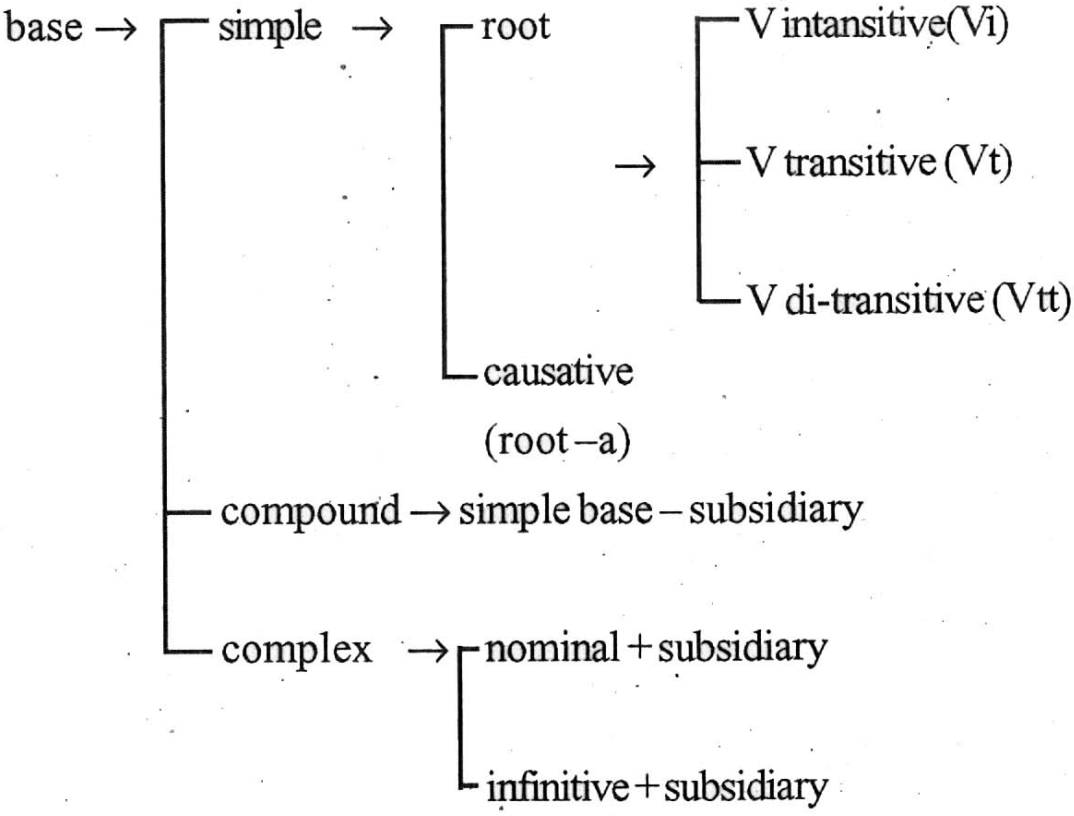
The various concord type sentences are, tense sentences : this is a construction with person – number agreement – 7 term

1st. sg., 1st pl.excl., 1st pl. incl.

2nd. sg., 2nd. pl.

3rd. sg. , 3rd. pl.

(i) All the verb bases whatever their morphemic structure, i.e., simple, compound or complex, are either intransitive, transitive or di-transitive. These are



In terms of the constituent structure of the sentence,

1. root : Vi → NP nom. + VP

   mũ + jae – I go

   root : Vt → NPnom. + NPacc. +VP

   mũ + taku + ḍakili – I called him

   root : Vtt → NP nom. + NP acc. +NP acc. + VP

   mũ taku phọḷọ deli – I gave him fruits.

   root –a → mũ taku bɔsae – I make him sit (Vt)

   mũ bɔhi ɔṇauchi – I get the book brought (Vt)

   mũ taku bhatɔ khuauchi – I am making him eat rice. (Vtt.)

Note that if the NP is in accusative case, it is marked only if it is an animate noun or a pronoun.

(ii) compound verb → base ┌ thematic vowel –i – subsidiary
                          └ thematic vowel –a – subsidiary

The thematic vowel –i base produces 7 term as well as 1 term constructions, where as –a base produces 1 term passive construction, which takes only two subsidiaries he- and ja-, and these are in free variation,

Ex.

1. bhatɔ khiahela – rice was eaten

~ bhatɔ khiagɔla

In contrast, consider the following 1 term thematic vowel-i constructions,

Ex.

2. bhatɔ khaihela – It was possible to eat rice

cɔukire bɔsihela –It was possible to sit on chair.

The rest are all 7 term –i base constructions.

The thematic vowel –i takes subsidiaries of these sub-types,

subsidiary → ┌ universal
             ├ restricted
             └ reflexive

1. universal → par, sar, occur with all verbs,

Ex.

mũ bɔsipare – I can sit (Vi)

mũ eha kɔrisarichi – I have finished this (Vt)

2. restricted → poṛ, uṭh – generally after intransitive bases

Ex.

mũ bɔsipoṛili – I sat down

mũ hɔsiuṭhili – I burst out laughing

→ de, ne, bɔs, cal, pɔka, aṇ, poḷa, lag – generally after transitive bases,

Ex.

mũ eha taku deideli – I gave it away to him

mũ eha magineli – I took it away.

3. reflexive → he

he – occurs as a subsidiary with a very few transitive bases, i.e., mar, dho, kɔh, ghɔs, poch, kuṇḍa, rampuṛ, iṛ, choṛa and lɔga- where it functions as a reflexive,

Ex.

mũ telɔ lɔgaiheuchi – I am massaging myself with oil

tu goṛɔ dhoiheuchu – You are washing your feet.

(iii) complex verb

Complex bases are of two types and have the following constituent structures,

nominal + subsidiary

Complex base →

infinitive + subsidiary

The first type is called nominal type and the second infinitive type, The nominal type is divided into two sub-groups, idiomatic and productive.

1. idiomatic complex bases are restricted in their selection of subsidiaries when compared with the productive types. The

construction is restricted to a specific subsidiary and the meaning is idiomatic,

Ex.

mũ phoṭɔ uṭhaili – I photographed (sub. lit. uṭha- to lift)

mũ maṛɔ khaili – I was beaten (sub. lit. kha-to eat)

mũ akhi maruchi – I am winking (sub.lit. mar- to beat)

2. On the other hand, the productive type of complex verb is a construction in which the subsidiaries occur with fixed grammatical function and meaning even when the nominals are borrowed,

complex base → [noun / adjective] + subsidiary

subsidiary → he, kɔr, de, ne , poṛ, pɔka, pa, lag

These subsidiaries are discussed in terms of the sentence frames in which they occur. There are four sentence frames,

1. mũ frame – 7 term

2. mo:rɔ frame/ eha frame/ mote frame – 1 term

Ex.

1. mũ frame:

mũ jae – I go

ame jau – We go (excl.)

ame jae – We go (incl.)

tu jau – You go

tumemane jaɔ - You(pl.) go

se jae – He/she goes

eha jae – It goes

semane ja:nti – They(hum.) go

seguṛikɔ jae – Those(non-hum.) go

apɔṇɔ ja:nti – You(hon.) go

2. mo:rɔ frame

mo:rɔ biswasɔ heuchi – I am being convinced

taṅkɔrɔ ɔsubidha heuchi – He is inconvinienced

3. eha frame

only inanimate nouns can occur,

bɔrsa heuchi – It is raining

4. mote frame

mote kɔsṭɔ hela – It pained me

Subsidiary he- occurs in all the four frames and has been treated differently depending upon the frame in which it occurs,

Ex.

1. he – as the main verb

juddhɔ heuchi – War is going on

paṭi heuchi – Shouting is going on

he- is the main predicate and the constituent structure is,

S → NP + VP

VP → he-

2. he- as a copula verb

In a mũ frame he- also occurs and contrasts with other copulas like, (ɔṭ-)/ ɔch-. In such cases it has the function of a copula,

mũ raji heli – I agreed

mũ ahɔtɔ heli – I became injured

mũ khusi heli – I became happy

mũ cintitɔ heli – I became worried

Only in those cases where he- is not a main verb and is not a copula verb in a mũ frame, i.e., it does not contrast with (ɔṭ-)/ ɔch-, he- is treated as a subsidiary. It is to be noted that even though he- contrasts with (ɔṭ-)/ ɔch- in other three frames, it is to be treated as a subsidiary,

Ex.

mũ hɔiraṇ heli – I was troubled

mũ dhwɔṅsɔ heli – I was destroyed

mo:rɔ biswas hela – I became convinced

mote kɔsṭɔ hela – I was in pain

eha arɔmbhɔ hela – This had started

kheḷɔ sesɔ heu – Let the game close

subsidiary lag- occurs only in the mote – frame,

Ex.

mote ḍɔrɔ laguchi – I am afraid

mote dukkhɔ laguchi – I am feeling sad

taku jhaṛa laguchi – He is getting call of nature

Occurrences of subsidiary pɔṛ- in the mote frame is relatively rare,

apɔṇɔṅku ṭɔrc, dɔrkar pɔṛibɔ - You will be wanting a torch.

Note that in this above frame meanings are in direct frame, actually the frame, literally means, fear felt by me, call of nature is felt by him, torch will be needed by you etc.

All the other subsidiaries, kɔr-, de-, pɔka-, pa- and ne- occur only in the mũ frame, which is 7 term.

Ex.

mũ taṅku birɔktɔ kɔrichi – I have irritated him

mũ taṅku gaḷi deli – I scolded him

se kɔsṭɔ pauchi – He is suffering

tu moːṭhu danɔ neuchu – You are taking charity from me.

Pairing of subsidiaries is to be noted when they occur in the frames. By pairing is meant that in the same sentence frame two subsidiaries can occur in pairs, i.e., if one of the pair occurs the other is predictable and when one is Vi, the other is likely to be Vt.

Ex.

1. (pa-/de- paired)

mũ kɔsṭɔ pauchi – I am suffering

mũ taṅku kɔsṭa deuchi – I am making him suffer

2. (he-/kɔr- paired)

mũ dhwɔṅsɔ heli – I was ruined

mũ taṅku dhwɔṅsɔ kɔli – I ruined him

3. (ne-/de- paired)

mũ ṭɔṅka udhar neuchi- I am borrowing money

mũ ṭɔṅka taṅku udhar deuchi – I am lending him money

In some pairs the subsidiaries may occur as variants without making any change in the meaning or function,

Ex.

mũ bɔkbɔk heuchi ~kɔruchi - I am blabbering

mũ tan̈ku khyɔma kɔli ~deli – I forgave him

Otherwise, the subsidiaries normally contrast,

Ex.

mũ eha danɔ deli – I gave this as a gift

mũ eha danɔ neli – I took this as a gift

mũ eha danɔ kɔli – I gave this away as a gift

Infinitives occur in 2 frames: 1. followed by a main verb,

Ex.

mũ jibaku cahe – I want to go

Such sentences are derived from the basic sentences – I want that I shall go, whereas, mũ jibaku lagili – I kept going, cannot be derived as above (* mũ lagili je mũ jibi). Hence, lag- is treated as a subsidiary and not a main verb.

2. The infinitive type of complex base has the following constituent structure,

complex base → infinitive + subsidiary

subsidiary → lag, ja, ɔch, tha, pɔṛ, he

subsidiaries lag and ja occur in a mũ frame,

Ex.

mũ jibaku lagili – I kept going

All the other subsidiaries occur in the mote frame. mũ/mo:rɔ can be substituted for mote and there is no concord,

Ex

mũ/ mo:rɔ /mote jibaku

ɔchi	- I have to go
thae	- I am supposed to go
thila	- I was to go
hebɔ	- I shall have to go
pɔṛila	- I was forced to go

In this frame the adjunct which is an accusative may be replaced by a nominative without any change in function. It must however, not to be confused with nominative or mũ frame, as the mũ frame must necessarily show agreement with the verb. In this case, this is merely a case of free variation, where the adjunct could either be in nominative, accusative or genitive and shows no concord with the verb, and it is 1 term only.

8.7.2

Mood sentences are constructions which differ from Tense sentences mainly in person-number restriction of the subject,

Mood → [imperative - 3 term
optative - 2 term

The imperative sentences are restricted to 2nd person subjects only. The subject may or may not be present but is marked in the verb.

NP nom. + V- (imperative mood person)
(2nd person)

Ex.

tu/tume/apɔṇɔ +ja/jaɔ /ja:ntu
you/you/ you + go/ go/ go
(ordinary)/ (familiar)/ (hon.) (ordi)/(fami.)/(hon.)

The optative sentences are restricted to 3rd. and perhaps 1st person subjects only. The 1st person sentences do not differ from simple tense forms and therefore must necessarily be modified intonationally to convey optative meaning. We have generally excluded 1st person from this mood.

Ex.

se + jau / ja:ntu - Let him go

he let go/ let go

(ord.)/(hon.)

semane + ja:ntu – Let them go

they Let go

bɔhiṭi bɔhiguṛikɔ + thau –Let the book/ books remain

the book/ the books let remain

All the tense and mood verbs can be negativised by the addition of negative morphemes. Distributionally, allomorphic variations of the negative morpheme occur, the details of which are given in the morphology section 6.4.,

Ex.

affermative	negative
mũ jae	: mũ jae-ni
I go	: I do not go
tume jaɔ	:tume jaɔ-ni
You go	: You do not go
se jau	: se nɔ-jau
Let him go	: Let him not go
semane ja:ntu	: semane nɔ-ja:ntu
Let them go	: Let them not go
bɔrsa heu	: bɔrsa nɔ-heu
Let it rain	: Let it not rain, etc.

8.7.3

Copula sentences are defined as constructions which have copula verbs in the predicate position. There are six copula verbs: ɔch-, (ɔṭ-),

tha-, he-, nah- and nuh- . The last two are negative copulas and nuh- corresponds to (ɔṭ-) in present tense, Though ɔṭ- is obsolete, its negative counterpart nuh- is always overt. Nevertheless, the speakers recall ɔṭ- as a frame of reference, when in doubt.

The meaning of the copula verbs or BE- verbs fall into four broad categories:

Existence : sita seṭhare ɔchi/ thae – Sita is there.

Prediction : sita sundɔri (ɔṭe) – Sita is pretty

Identity : sita sekreṭeri (ɔṭe) – Sita is the secretary, (Sita, the secretary)

Class inclusion: sita jɔṇe jhiɔ (ɔṭe) – Sita is a girl.

There are five sub-types of copula constructions falling under concord type,

(i) NP nom. + NP loc./ adverb place/time + ɔch - / tha- /nah- 7 term

Ex.

mũ [ghɔre / eṭhare / ratire] [ɔchi / thae / nahĩ] - I am at home / - I used to stay here / - I do not stay at night

I [at home / here / at night] [am / am / am not]

(ii) NP nom. + adjective + (ɔṭ-/ ɔch-/ tha- / he- / nuh- / nah- 7 term

Ex

mũ bhɔlɔ	(ɔṭe)	I am good
	ɔchi	I am well
	thae	I used to be well
	hue	I get well
	nuhẽ	I am not good
	nahĩ	I am not well

I +good/well + copula

In this frame occurrences of (ɔṭ-)/ ɔch- are possible, but the above examples show some semantic difference. However, this may not be generally true for the frame as such.

The comparative and superlative degree of comparison are derived sentences from this frame and hence are not considered,

Ex. se mo:ṭharu bhɔlɔ (ɔṭe) – He is better than me, is

derived from: se bhɔlɔ (ɔṭe) - He is good

mũ bhɔlɔ (ɔṭe) – I am good

similarly,

se sɔbuṭharu bhɔlɔ (ɔṭɔnti) - He is best of all, is derived

from: se bhɔlɔ (ɔṭɔnti) - He is good

sɔbu bhɔlɔ - All are good

(iii) NP nom. + NP nom. + (ɔṭ-)/ tha- / ɔch-/ he- / nuh/ nah – 7 term

Ex	mũ	raja	(ɔṭe)
			thae
			ɔchi
			hue
			nuhẽ
			nahĩ

I king am

used to be
existing
become
not
not existing

(iv) NPgen. + NP nom. + (ɔṭ-)/ ɔch-/ tha-/ he- / nuh- / nah- 7 term

Ex.

mo:rɔ tume

(ɔṭɔ)	- I have you/ you are mine
thaɔ	-You remain mine
ɔchɔ	- You are for me
huɔ	- You become mine
nuhɔ̃	- You are not mine
nahɔ̃	- You are not for me

This sentence is ambiguous which also may mean 'you are mine' and in this sense it can be treated as a derived sentence.

(v) NP nom. + NP post position + (ɔṭ-)/ ɔch- / tha- / he-/ nuh-/ nah- - 7 term

Ex.

mũ bapaṅkɔ pɔri

(ɔṭe)	- I am like father
ɔchi	- I am existing like father
thae	- I used to be like father
hue	- Let me be like father
nuhẽ	-I am not like father
nahĩ	- I am not existing like father

8.8

By definition these non-concord type constructions do not have concord in person – number between the subject and the predicate. Various sub-types occur.

8.8.1

Concord is restricted to 1 term, thus non-contrastive, The only sentence frames occuring are,

mo:rɔ type and eha type/ mote type – 1 term

All the 1 term counterparts of tense and copula sentences occur here,

Sentences of eha type with he-/ pɔṛ- / rɔh- / and lag- as main verbs,

root: Vi → NP + he-/pɔṛ- / rɔh- /lag-

Ex.

bɔrsa heuchi - It is raining

jogɔ pɔṛichi – The auspicious time has arrived

juddhɔ lagichi – War is going on

compound base:

(i) NP loc. + [root – i + he-]

Ex.

khɔṭɔre soi hue - It is possible to sleep on bed

suai hue - It is possible to make sleep on bed

(ii) NP loc. + [root-a-he-~ja-]

Ex.khɔṭɔre sua hue ~ jae – Sleeping is done on bed

Although only locative case is shown for NP slot, other cases and nominals may also occur.

Ex.

akasɔru dekhi hue/ dekhai hue – It is possible to see/ to show from the sky.

akasɔru pɔkahue ~ jae – Throwing is done from sky.

Complex base : Two constructions fall under the complex base: Nominal type and infinitive type.

(i) [NP acc. / NP geni.] + nominal + complex verb

subsidiary → he-, lag- ~ maṛ-

Ex.

mɔte jɔrɔ hela – I had fever

mo:rɔ biswasɔ hela – I became convinced

eha arɔmbhɔ hela – It started

mɔte nidɔ laguchi ~ maṛuchi – I am feeling sleepy

(ii)

NP. acc. + infinitive + complex verb

subsidiary → ɔch- , tha-, he- , pɔṛ- , nah-

Ex.

mɔte jibaku	ɔchi	- I am to go
mũ/ mɔte / mo:rɔ	thae	- I am scheduled to go
	hebɔ	- I shall have to go
	pɔṛibɔ	- I must have to go
	nahĩ	- I do not have to go

Copula sentences:

These constructions which have Time expressions (TM) and second order nominals and 1 term copula fall under the copula frame,

(i) $TM_1 + TM_2 + (ɔṭ-)$/tha-/he-/ nuh-

Ex. aji rɔbibar (ɔṭe) /nuhẽ - Today is/ is not Sunday.

(ii) [TM / Loc.] + NP nom. + ɔch-/tha-/he- / nah-
2nd order nominals

Ex. [ebe / eṭhare] gɔrɔm/sitɔ ɔchi/nahĩ

[now / here] hot/cold is/is not

Now , there is no cold

Here, there is no cold, etc.

(iii) NP nom. + ucit + (ɔṭ-)
(inanimate)

Ex. eha [ucit / dɔrkar] (ɔṭe) / nuhẽ

This is [proper / wanted/ necessary] (is) /not

8.9

Interrogation is of two types: (i) yes – no type and (ii) wh-type. Both the types can be derived from their respective positive frames. Every sentence type can be changed into an yes – no quesition by adding the interrogative particle ki as a final constituent. It can be dispensed with and a rising sentence intonation can indicate interrogation.

Wh-type – A wh- question word is substituted in the place of the constituent to be questioned. The wh-word and the constituent belong to the same part of speech, the only difference being the interrogation. The positive frame does not undergo any other change by the substitution/ addition of the interrogating constituent.

There is a pattern in interrogation. Only the adverb-position/ NP position gets substituted by interrogating constituent as follows:

constituent to be questioned → (in form classes)		wh- question word (substituted)
e-ṭha-re → adv. locative	keũ-ṭha-re	meaning where?
(coll. e-ṭhi)	(kouṭhi)	
e-ṭha-ru → adv.ablative	keũ -ṭha-ru	from where/where from
(coll. e-ṭhu)	(kou-ṭhu)	
e-ṭha-ku → adv. directional	keũ-ṭha-ku	where to?
(coll. e-ṭhiki)	(kou-ṭhiki)	

NP – animate human

nom. →	kie	who
acc. →	kie (oblique): kaha-	
-ku	kaha-ku	to whom(sg)
	kaha-ṅku	to whom(pl. / hon.)
gen. →	kaha-rɔ , kaha	whose (sg.)
-rɔ	kaha-ṅkɔrɔ	whose (pl.)
	kahaṅkɔ	

comitative -sɔhitɔ	→	kaha-sɔhitɔ / sɔŋ̇ge	with whom(sg.)
instru. -dwara	→	[kaha / kahaṅkɔ] dwara	by whom(sg./pl.)
abl. -ṭharu/ṭhu	→	[kaha / kahaṅkɔ] ṭharu/ṭhu	from whom(sg./pl.)
loc. -ṭhare/ṭhi	→	[kaha- / kahaṅkɔ] ṭhare/ṭhi	in whom (sg./pl.) (with whom)
benefactive -paĩ	→	[kaha- / kahaṅkɔ]- paĩ	for whom? (sg./pl.) for whose sake(sg./pl.)

NP – inanimate

nom.	→	kɔ:ṇɔ	what?
benefactive paĩ	→	kɔ:ṇɔ paĩ	what for
definite marker -ṭa	→	kɔ:ṇɔ keũ/kou -ṭa	which one?
instru./ loc. -thire	→	keũ/ kou - thire	with which/ in which?
demonstrative adjective + bisɔyɔre	→	keũ / kou - bisɔyɔre	about which matter?
+ pɔrjyɔntɔ	→	keũ/ kou - pɔrjyɔntɔ	up to which place/ how far?

adverb – manner

epɔri	→	kipɔri	how?
- time	→	ketebeḷe	at what time?
		keteṭa beḷe	at what hour?
		kebe	when?

quantitative adjective noun	→	kete	how much(adj)
		keteṭa	how many (noun)

+durɔre→	kete durɔre		at what distance
No substituent but addition	→	kahĩki	why?

Copula type of Interrogation:

adv. loc. + ɔch- → kãh- specific (person-number-7 term)

Ex.

mũ kahĩ - Where am I?

semane kahanti - Where are they?

apɔṇɔ kahanti - Where are you (hon.)?

Other forms of the paradigm are less frequent.

Other constituents:

Other constituents like non-finite verb, verbal noun or adjective which may form a part of the subject (NP) or the prdicate (VP), lack in concord with the subject and merely function as modifiers of the

verb or the noun and thus the sentence remains a simple sentence,

(i) non- finite verb (continuous)

mũ poḍhu poḍhu soipoṛili - I fell asleep while reading

(ii) non – finite verb (perfect)

mũ taṅko pakhoku jai suṇili – I heard by going to him

(iii) verbal noun/ adjective

mũ kohilaru semane ragigole – They got angry because I said.

mo kohibare kichi doso ochi – Is there any fault in my saying?

kano-kuhaṅku biswaso nahĩ – The gossip-mongers must not be believed?

poṛa - tioṇore ki suado – No taste in burnt curry (a spoiled relationship)

golaṇi to gola - kothare soṅgato - Oh friend! Let by gone be by gone.

gorojila megho borose nahĩ – Thundering clouds do not rain

mo pheriba dino dekha hebo - We will be meeting on the day of my return

se uṛonta coḍheiro poro goṇiba loko - He is capable of counting the feathers of a flying bird (i.e., a very clever man)

deithiba dano pherosto nionṭu nahĩ – Do not take back something you have gifted

lanco deuthiba loko lanco neuthiba loko ṭharu kichi kom dosi nuhẽ- The man who offers bribes is no less guilty than who accepts it

mũ lekhuthiba bohiro seso ahuri baki ochi - The conclusion of the book I am writing is still to come.

8.10

Any two nominal predictions or verbal predictions which are conjoined by, o- and, ebɔṅ- and, kintu – but, ba-or, ki – or, nɔhele – or else, pu:ṇi – then, sina – but, matrɔ - but, au –and, etc.in a co-ordinate relation is a compound sentence,

(i) and - relationship

Ex.

mũ jibi o se pheribe – I will go and he will come back.

mũ dhɔni o mo stri sundɔri - I am rich and my wife is pretty.

cɔndrɔ ũɔnti ebɔṅ kakɔrɔ pɔṛe – Moon rises and dew falls.

ghɔrɔṭa bɔṛɔ ebɔṅ drusyɔṭa sundɔrɔ - The house is large and the view is beautiful.

jaɔ au cɔncɔḷɔ pheri asɔ - Go and come back soon.

se hĩ maḷi, au se hĩ pujari – He is the gardener and he is the priest (i.e., it is a one man show)

It may be noted that in colloquial speech, the co-ordination indeclinables are rarely used except when to stress a statement,

Ex.

mũ maḷi, mũ pujari – I am gardener, I am priest

cɔncɔḷɔ suɔ, cɔncɔḷɔ uṭhɔ - Sleep early. get up early, etc.

(ii) but – relationship

Ex.

mũ jibi kintu ratire pheriparibini – I will go but will not be able to return at night

jaucho sina, pɔre pɔstaibɔ - Going you are, but later you will regret.

se malikɔ kintu mũ sɔrbesɔrba – He is the master but I am all in all.

se asibe matrɔ ratire rɔhibe nahĩ– He will come but will not stay over night

ghɔrɔ pakhɔ matrɔ bɔjarɔ durɔ - The house is close but the market is far.

(iii)then – relationship

agɔ suṇɔ tapɔre kuhɔ - First listen then speak

se bɔṛɔ tɔ mũ kichi kɔm nuhẽ- He is great, then I am no less

jaɔ hele taṅku ḍakibɔ nahĩ — Go, but do not invite him.

se sundɔri hele gɔribɔ - She is pretty, yet poor.

age suṇɔ pu:ṇi pɔcaribɔ - Listen first then you will ask

tumɔrɔ bɔndhu dusɔritrɔ pu:ṇi bɔṛɔ lokɔrɔ puɔ

Your friend is immoral, and further son of a wealthy man

(iv) or – relationship

kɔrɔ kimba mɔrɔ - Do or die

eha myajik kimba iswɔrɔṅkɔ iccha – It is either magic or God's will.

se pheriparɔnti ba nɔparɔnti – He may return or may not

eha sapɔ ba sapɔ pɔri ekɔ jɔntu – This is a snake or a snake – like creature

jibɔ na pulisku ḍakibi – Will you get out or I will call police

eiṭa ghɔrɔ na jelkhana – Is this home or a prison

taṅku cinhɔ ki nahĩ – Do you know him or not?

se ḍaktɔr nuhɔnti na pɔsuḍaktɔr – He is neither a doctor nor a vet.

ja:ntu nɔhele ɔndharɔ heijibɔ - Go or it will get dark.

tumɔ bhai mɔntri hebe nɔhele mo bhai -

Either your brother will be a minister otherwise my brother.

8.11

A complex sentence has a principal sentence with nominal or verbal prediction and one or more subordinate sentences. Generally, the construction of the principal sentence and the subordinate sentences is the same and are commonly joined by such mutually expectant pairs like jebe-tebe/sebe-when-then, jetebeḷe - setebeḷe- what time-then, jaha-taha-what-that, je-se-who-he, jɔdi-tahele/tebe-if-then, etc. The major subordinate relations are of the following types :

8.11.1.

(i) relative sentence

The most important of the subordinate sentences is the relative sentence which is introduced by relative pronouns, relative pronominal adjectives, relative adjectives or relative adverbs. The relative sentence generally precedes the principal sentence. A relative adjective, pronominal adjective, pronoun or adverb in the first sentence has a corresponding demonstrative in the second or the principal sentence,

Ex.

1.jeũ bhɔdrɔ lokɔ asithile, se mo sɔsurɔ .

The gentleman who came, is my father-in-law.

2. jahaṅku ḍɔka jaithila, se asinahanti.

The one who was invited, he has not come.

3. jaha poḍhibɔ, taha ɔbɔsyɔ mɔne rɔkhibɔ -

You must remember, what you study.

4. hoḷɔ jaharɔ, phoḷɔ taharɔ.

One who tills,(he) gets the fruit.

5. jie jie jibe, sie sie purɔskrutɔ hebe.
   Those who will go, they will be rewarded.
6. jeũ lokɔmanɔṅku ḍakichɔ , semanɔṅku agɔ bɔsaɔ .
   The people whom you have invited, first make them sit.
7. jetebeḷe guḷi calibɔ ,setebeḷe soi poṛibɔ .
   When the firing starts, lie down then.
8. jeũ pɔri kamɔ kɔribɔ , sepɔri phɔḷɔ paibɔ .
   As you do, so you reap.
9. ame jemiti ghɔre rɔhiparibu, semiti ghɔrɔṭie ṭhik kɔrɔ
   Fix us a house in which we can live.

The relative sentence may also follow the principal sentence

Ex.

1. e ki sei jhiɔ , jie kali nacuthila.
   Is she the same girl, who was dancing yesterday?
2. emiti bi moṇisɔ ɔchɔnti, jeũmane luga pindhiba jaṇinahanti -
   There are also such people, who donot cover themselves.

Some abbreviated complex sentences may not have a regular principal sentence,

Ex.

1. laguchi, akasɔru jemiti niã chiṇḍuchi.
   It feels, as if fire is falling from the sky.
2. kheḷɔ jemiti eine sesɔ hoijaipare.
   As if the game may end now.

Subordinate sentences signifying purpose are introduced by conjunctives jepɔri, jemiti, etc. with corresponding demonstratives emiti, ethipaĩ, sethipaĩ, etc.

Ex.

1. tume jemiti jitibɔ, semiti ɔbhyasɔ kɔrɔ.

Practise, as you may win.

2. jepɔri lokɔmane soiparibe, sethipaĩ byɔbɔstha kɔrɔ.

Make arrangements so that people can sleep

3. ame cesṭa kɔruchu , se jepɔri jitibe.

We are trying, so that he will win.

Note that, subordinate sentences of purpose when negativised, normally the verb does not take the usual negative suffix- ni or the negative auxiliary –n- (-nãh-), but the conditional negative prefix nɔ-

Ex.

1. ame cesṭa kɔruchu, se jepɔri nɔjitibe.

We are trying, so that he will not win.

2. semane jepɔri nɔjauchɔnti, sethipaĩ semanɔṅku dosi kuhajibɔ

They will be dubbed guilty, as they are not going.

8.11.2.

In conditional sentence the correlative conjunctive pairs, jɔdi - tɔ /tahele/tebe are used with the verb in the conditional tense in both the subordinate and the principal sentence,

Ex.

1. mũ jɔdi ja:nti, tɔ /tahele se asɔnte

If I go, then he will come.

2. bɔrsa jɔdi heitha:nta, gɔchɔguṛikɔ mɔrinɔtha:nte.

Had it rained, the plants would not have died.

3. tume jɔdi jaipaɾɔntɔ, bhɔlɔ huɔnta

If you could go, that would be fine.

(Note- conditional sentences can also be formed in an alternative way by using a conditional participle instead of a conditional verb. In that case, jɔdi-tahele conjunctive pair is dropped)

Ex.

1. mũ gɔle, taṅku kɔhɔnti

   If I go, I could tell him.

2. bɔma phuṭithile sɔmɔste mɔri jaitha:nte

   Had the bomb exploded, all would have died.

3. tume taṅku ɔnurodhɔ kɔle, kejaṇi se maniparɔnti

   If you would request him, perhaps he might listen.

4. tu dosi heithile, dosɔ swikarɔ kɔr

   If you are guilty, accept your crime.

Another type of conditional sentence is also formed with the conditional participle followed by particles like, hẽ, bi, suddha, mɔdhyɔ, ki, hĩ, etc.

Ex.

1. apɔṇɔ ḍakilehẽ se asibe nahĩ.

   Even if you invite (him), he will not come.

2. bɔrsa helehẽ semane asibe

   Even if it rains, they will come.

3. bɔrsa hele bi, gaṛi asipare

   Even if it rains, the train might come

4. bɔrsa hele suddha, tume jaɔ

   Even if it rains, you go.

5. bɔrsa hele mɔdhyɔ khɔra pɔṛibɔ

   Even if it rains, the sun will come out.

6. tume nahĩ kɔle ki semane agei asibe

As soon as you say no, they will come forward.

7. prarthɔna kɔle hĩ, bhɔgɔban niscɔy dekha debe

If you pray, God will appear without fail.

In all these cases because a conditional participle is used it is not to be treated as a complex sentence.

8.11.3.

The two sentences in this complex frame are introduced by the correlative pairs jɔdio-tɔthapi and pɔchɔke/pɔche-kintu,

Ex.

1. mũ jɔdio ɔnek thɔrɔ cesṭa kɔli, tɔthapi sɔphɔḷɔ hoi parili nahĩ

Even though, I tried many times I could not succeed.

jɔdio tume bhiru, tɔthapi mũ tumɔku bhɔlɔ pae.

Even though, you are a coward, nevertheless I love you.

2. bɔrsa heu pɔchɔke/pɔche, (kintu) bɔḍhi nɔasu

Let it rain, but let there be no flood.

ratire ja pɔche/pɔchɔke, (kintu) aluɔ nei ja.

Go at night if you so want, but take a light.

mũ mɔribi pɔche/pɔchɔke, ḍɔribi nahĩ

Even if I die, I would not be afraid.

The subordinate sentences in this complex frame is introduced by ete (meaning volume, number), eṛe (meaning size, measure), epɔri (manner) and is closed with je, followed by the principal sentence. But there is considerable over-lapping in use between these words,

Ex.

1. se ete kɔbita lekhichi je, taku puɾɔskaɾɔ miḷibɔ

He has written so many poems that he will be awarded

tume ete lokɔṅku ḍakithilɔ je, ɔnek pherigɔle.

You had invited so many people that many had gone back.

2. e dɔuṛi eṛe lɔmba je, eha mɔ ɟhiru chiṛijibɔ .

This rope is so long that it will give way from the middle.

3. se epɔri lekhichɔnti je, sɔmɔste poḍhi birɔktɔ hebe

He has written such outrageously that all will be displeased reading it.

The subordinate sentence in this complex frame follows the principal sentence bound by a causal relationship introduced by karɔṇɔ,

Ex.

semane rastare rɔhuchɔnti karɔṇɔ semanɔṅkɔrɔ ghɔrɔ nahĩ

They are living on footpath because they do not have a house

mũ poḍhiparinɔthili karɔṇɔ mũ drusṭi sɔkti hɔraithili

I could not study, because I lost my eye sight.

The same relation can be expressed more colloquially by kaĩki (kahĩki) na,

Ex.

se paṭi kɔrithile kaĩkina se ragi jaithile

He shouted because he got angry.

(This meaning can be expressed in an alternative structure using verbal noun in ablative case,

Ex.

semanɔṅkɔrɔ ghɔrɔ nɔthibaru semane rastare rɔhuchɔnti

Because they do not have a house, they are living on foot-path.

mũ drusṭisɔkti hɔraithibaru pɔḍhi parinɔthili

Because of losing eyesight, I could not study.

se ragi jaithibaru paṭi kɔrithile

He shouted because he got angry.

The correlative pairs jebe-sebe, jetebeḷe-seṭebeḷe listed earlier make the complex temporal sentences. The first pair normally signifies indefinite/ distant time, while the second pair more definite time/ hour at hand,

Ex.

1. semane jebe rajɔtwɔ kɔruthile, sebe ete ɔstrɔ sɔstrɔ nɔthila

When they were ruling, during that period there were not so many weapons.

jebe bi jaɔ, pulis hɔtɔre sebe dhɔra pɔṛibɔ.

Whenever you go, you will be caught by police then.

2. jetebeḷe di:ṭa bajibɔ, setebeḷe khaiba ghɔṇṭa pɔṛibɔ

When it will strike two, then the lunch hour bell will strike.

jetebeḷe tu pheribu, setebeḷe mɔte uṭhai debu

Whenever you return, then wake me up.

Any two sentences may be correlated by the particles je and boli, generally introducing a quotation to form a complex sentence. In the case of je, the subordinate sentence follows it,but in the case of boli, the subordinate sentence precedes it,

Ex.

1. se kɔhila je aji bɔrsa hoipare

He said that it might rain today.

mũ jaithili je taṅku bheṭili nahĩ.

I went but failed to meet him.

mɔne hue je, se ekɔ mɔha dhurtɔ ba mɔhapurusɔ

It seems that either he is a big fraud or a saint.

2. se atmɔhɔtya kɔribɔ boli mũ jaṇithili

I knew that he would commit suicide.

prɔdhanɔ mɔntri asuchɔnti boli khɔbɔrkagɔjɔru jɔṇajae

It is known from the news-paper that the prime-minister is coming

3. cɔgɔla baba boli jɔṇe sɔnyasi ɔchɔnti

There is a yogi called 'fickle minded yogi'.

A complex sentence consisting of a subordinate interrogative sentence precedes the principal sentence and is connected with the latter by eha or taha, overtly or covertly,

Ex.

se keũṭhi pɔḍhuchɔnti (taha) kehi jaṇɔntini

No one knows where he is studying.

tume kahĩki jibɔnahĩ (eha ki) tumɔku bujhaibaku pɔṛibɔ

Must it be explained to you, why you should not go?

se kie (taha) taṅkɔ phoṭoru mũ jaṇe.

I know from his photograph, who is he.

durghoṭɔṇare kete jɔṇɔ mruto , eha se kɔhiparibe

He can tell how many are dead in the accident.

8.12.

These are mainly sentences with interjections, vocatives, addresses, clitics and other frozen or set expressions, which may not have the constituents of regular simple, compound or complex sentences. Although generally these expressions remain neutral to the grammatical structure of the following or the preceding expressions with which they occur, nevertheless these elements are instrumental in the selection of a

mostly stereotyped or frozen set of utteramces, which are of unquestionable cultural, semantic and grammatical importance.

8.12.1.

Interjections:

Ex.

1. ihi/ehe – expression of disgust

   ihi/ehe ! guhɔ maṛichɔ - You have stepped on filth.

2. aha – sorrow, simpathy

   aha! ɔkaḷɔre caligɔla – Alas, passed away prematuredly.

   aha! khainahĩ bicɔra – Poor fellow, had not had to eat.

3. oho – amazement, wonder, disbelief, realizaton.

   oho! bhɔgɔbanɔṅkɔrɔ ki bicitrɔ liḷa – What wonderful doings of God !

   oho! apɔṇɔ tahele prɔkrutɔ stri – Oh, I see – so you are then true wife

4. ah – happiness, satisfaction, pain, impatience

   ah ! bhuri bhojɔnɔ - Ah, what a great feast !

   ah! kaṭuchi – It hurts !

   ah ! bɔṛɔ byɔstɔ kɔlɔṇi – Ah, what a bother !

   ah! mɔja asigɔla – Such great fun !

5. chi/chia/che, chih – Disgust, indignation, forbidding, shame !

   chi! ɔbhɔdrɔ kouṭhikarɔ - What an ignoble person !

   chih ! chuɔ̃nahĩ – Don't touch !

   che! eṛe michua tume – Such a liar you are?

6. bah – happiness, appreciation

   bah! cɔmɔtkar – Bravo! excellent.

bah! khub bhɔlɔ kɔrichɔ - Well done !

7. dhat/dhetterika –regret, displeasure
   dhat! pu:ṇi harili – Damn it, lost again !
8. is – frustration
   is! bɔṛɔṭa khɔsigɔla –The big one got away !
9. cu cu (palatal clicks) – Sympathy, calling a dog
   cu cu! pura gã:ṭa jɔḷuchi – The entire village is ablaze !
   cu cu! khaibu a – Come on, get it ! (to a dog)
10. bhak - disapproval
    bhak! corɔ kahĩka – Get lost, you thief !
11. ẽ - pardon me (impolite), Come again ! impolite response.
    ẽ! mũ jibi ! - Come again, would I go really ?
    mɔusa ḍakile ẽ kɔhibuni – Do not say ẽ, when the uncle calls.
12. ũ – a girlish way of not agreeing
    ũ, mũ kɔ:ṇɔ tumɔrɔ sɔtɔ bhɔuṇi ? – Am I your true sister!
13. bas –enough !
    bas, etikire ses !-Enough ! Finish now.

8.12.2

Vocatives:

Ex.

1. he/ahe – addressing god, a male or female person
   he, bhɔgɔban ! - Oh, God !
   he jhiɔ , ghɔrɔku ja – Girl, go home.
2. hei/ei – addressing inferior person
   ei pila, eṭhi kɔṇ kɔruchu ? – Hey, you child, what are you doing here?

3. are – addressing inferior male

   are murkhɔ - You fool !

4. alo – addressing younger female, affectionate address,

   alo bou, byɔstɔ hebuni – Darling mother, do not worry

   alo jhiɔ, ketedinɔre buddhi sikhibu ? –Hey girl, when would you learn?

5. ago –addressing female politely (not much used now)

   ago sundɔri! - Hallo, beautiful !

6. agyã – addressing male or female person with deference.

   agyã, bɔsɔntu – Sir/Madam, please be sitted.

7. kio – addressing familiar male friend

   kio bhai, aji kemiti eaṛe? – How come you are in our way today?

8. hɔire – addressing inferior male

   hɔire michua - You liar !

9. hɔilo – addressing inferior female

   hɔilo, pu:ṇi ta pakhɔku jauchu – Girl, going to him again?

10. abe – a very impolite or too intimate address

    abe, maṛɔ khaibu ? – You scoundrel, you will get thrashing

11. –e – this can be suffixed to a male surname or profession in addressing (not very popular now)

    dase, tumɔku khoja pɔṛithila – Das, we were looking for you.

    sa:re, mo kɔtha ṭikie bujhibe - Sir, please help me.

Note – ahe, are, abe,alo and ago drop the initial a –vowel and then may be suffixed to the addressee, or may be attatched to the utterance,

Ex.

babure, micho kohibuni – My boy, do not ever lie.

jhiolo, botiṭa ṭikie joḷa – Oh daughter, light the candle.

ma:go, rokhya kor – Oh mother (goddess), save me.

jao he, mũ jibi nahĩ – Go away, I won't go.

seiṭa kie be ? – Who the hell is he ?

eṛe paṭire kie ḍakuchi re ? – Who is shouting so loudly?

ja:lo, se pu:ṇi ḍakuchi – Go now, he is calling again.

8.12.3.

Other set expressions

Ex.

1. agyã – it has several uses and stands for politeness.

agyã, mote khyoma koribe – Sir/Madam, you would excuse me

agyã, koṇ kohile – Pardon me, would you repeat please.

agyã, mũ suṇuchi – Yes (polite), I am listening

agyã, mũ ki thoṭaro patro? – I beg your pardon, am I to be rediculed?

The lexical meaning of this word is 'order', i.e. baba agyã deichonti – The guru has ordered. In some varieties of speech, the word is used as a honorific pronoun, and even takes a plural marker – mane for very polite reference, i.e. agyã–mane eṭhiki asibe nahĩ – The honoured people will not come here. But, this use is clearly sub-standard.

2. hõ/ho – Yes ! (not as polite as agyã)

hõ mũ raji – Yes, I am agreeable.

ho, mũ suṇuchi – Yes, I am listening

But, the hõ can be made very polite by being attached to agyã - hõ agyã, se asuchonti – Yes Sir/Madam, he is coming

3. nã - no

   nã, mũ jaṇeni – No, I do not know.

   Being attached to agyã, it can be made extra polite,i.e.

   agyã nã/nã agyã, mũ e kamɔ kɔriparibi nahĩ – No sir/madam, I cnnot do this job.

4. nɔmɔskar – formal salutations with folded palms held at nose level. By some, elaborate gestures like bending down are made, but these gestures are no longer done. This greetings are not done by elders first and it is the younger person who is expected to greet first. nɔmɔskar, also not used to greet children.

This form of standard greetings has several variants, some of which are used jocularly and others regionally,

doṇḍɔbɔt – formerly people used to fall flat at the feet of a senior, master or god. This is rarely done now, but the word is more jocularly used by some.

prɔṇam – old relatives like father, father-in-law, uncle, etc., childhood school teachers are greeted by touching their feet, or by prostrating before them and touching the floor with head. This form of greetings is called 'muṇḍia mariba'. This is not done, but done more commonly before gods, than before people. The more recent prɔṇam, which is used by some in stead of nɔmɔskar, is mostly due to influence from the north.

nɔmɔste – another variant, but normally not used

juhar – this word is used more commonly in western Orissa

oḷiki – this is a form of greetings usually done by women bending down before elders to touch the floor with both hands.

This form is no longer used by women unless too conservative or from village.

5. bisnu/bisṭũ – when one's foot touches some one else's body, this word is uttered and the fore-head is touched. This is almost equivalent to 'I beg your pardon', except that, this is actually the name of god Vishnu, who would forgive the offender, as He is present in all bodies, but this is not done in case of non-human beings.

6. cup –shut up

   cup, bɔdmas kahĩka – Shut up, you rouge.

7. jah – Get lost, disbelief

   jah, pɔḷa – Go, get lost.

   jah, se pu:ṇi bhɔdrɔlok ! – Pooh, he is no gentleman!

8. accha – okay, alright

   accha, dekhiba – Okay, we shall see.

9. sabas – bravo, congrats, well done

   sabas, nã rɔkhilɔ gã:rɔ - Well done, brought glory to your village!

10. cɔmɔtkar – excellent, bravo

    cɔmɔtkar, ki kheḷɔ – Bravo, what a game!

11. bhar (bahar) – get out

    bhar, pɔḷa eṭhu – Get the hell out of here.

12. bap re – oh, father ! wonder, fear, excitement, amazemant

    bap re bap, biraṭ sapɔ - My god, a huge snake !

    bapre, nagɔ sapɔ ṭe – God, it is a cobra!

13. bou lo – oh, mother! pain, sorrow

    bou lo, mɔri jibi – Ouch, what terrible pain!

14. aste – careful

    aste, goṛɔ khɔsijibɔ - Careful, you may slip.

15.sabdhan – caution, take care, attention

sabdhan, au eṭhaku asibɔnahĩ – Remember, do not come here again!

16.bes – fine, great

bes, au thɔre ceṣṭa kɔrɔ - Fine, try again (once more)!

17.dhɔnyɔbad/ thyaṅks – thank you. Both the forms are recently introduced into the language and people are getting familiar with the words.

18.sɔri – sorry! recently introduced into the language and people are getting used to it.

19. ṭaṭa/bai bai – Good bye. Used by children in urban areas mostly.

20. halo/hai – Hello!, the usual respond to a telephone call, and is also used as a greetings by urban people only.

8.12.4.

Other terms of address:

Like most other Indian languages, Oriya too lacks in a neutral standard address system which is both formal and not offending. The situation is more acute in establishing a mutually acceptable system of address, particularly when women and strangers are involved. Formerly, kinship terms both male and female were commonly used to negotiate all kinds of social transaction, but in the changed social circumstances, kinship terms as a form of address are nearly gone particularly from urban and sophisticated society. But, the terms are not totally abandoned,

1. ma – mother (addressing the mistress of the house, female customer, any female, goddess, female child. A more common and safer way of addressing adult females is myaḍam)

2. mausi – mother's sister (an elderly female)
3. didi – sister (school mistress, nurse)
4. babu – master, adult male, male child, an official,

a. the term takes qualifiers like, bɔṛɔ babu – chief official or master, superintendent, senior master, sanɔ babu – younger master, buḍha babu- old master etc.

b. it can be suffixed to professional terms for respect, ḍaktɔr babu – doctor, okilɔ babu – lawyer, masṭɔr babu – teacher, mistri babu – mechanic, etc.

c. normally suffixed to personal names or surnames for respect. It is the usual term for adult males, ram babu – Ram Babu, hɔri babu – Hari babu, das babu – Mr. Das, mɔhanti babu – Mr. Mohanty, etc.

5. sar – boss, school or college teacher, respectable male
6. mɔusa – mother's sister's husband (an elderly male)
7. bhai/bɔṛɔ bhai – brother (relatively elder male, adult male)
8. ostad/hɔjur/sɔrkar/malik/gurudeb – boss/chief/ your honour/ master, boss/Guru.
9. prɔbhu – Lord, God, Master, Almighty.
10. baba – religious teacher, guru, mendicant, yogi, generous person, male child, desciple
11. sɔḷa – wife's brother (a very common term of abuse, joke, redicule, fun or endearment)

8.12.5.

Formal expressions like, praying, scolding, challenging, blessing, swearing, cursing, etc. These expressions may not have normal syntactic

structure; they are however, an indispensable part of socio-culture norms of language behaviour,

1. prarthɔna – prayer:

   jɔy jɔgɔnnath – Heil, Lord Jagannath

   jɔgɔnnathe mɔṅgɔḷɔ kɔrɔntu – Let Lord Jagannath look after us

   jɔgɔnnathe sɔṅkhe purei cɔkre aḍhuaḷɔ kɔri rɔkhɔntu – Oh Jagannath, please put me into your counch and cover me with your cɔkrɔ .

   mɔte maph kɔrɔntu – Please forgive me.

   mũ goṛɔ tɔḷe pɔṛuchi – I am falling at your feet

   mɔte khyɔma kɔrɔ - Excuse me.

2. asirbadɔ - blessing

   bụḍha (buḍḍha) heitha – Live till ripe old age

   ɔi sulɔkhyɔṇi huɔ - Let your husband live for ever.

   kacɔ bɔjrɔ heu – Let your bangles be strong (i.e., do not ever be a widow, because if a woman is widowed her bangles are broken.)

   dhɔnɔ jɔnɔ gopɔ lɔkhmi heu – Let good fortune come from all sides like, wealth, big family, landed property, riches, etc.

3. ɔ bhisapɔ -cursing

   kusṭhɔ heijau – Be afflicted with leprosy

   pokɔ pɔṛijau – Let maggots crawl on your body

   ɔcinha rogɔ heu – Get some incurable disease

   kuḷɔ buṛijau – Let the family be extinct

   raṇḍɔ hɔ - Be a widow

4. raṇɔ - swearing

   diõṅkɔ / bhɔgɔbanɔṅkɔ raṇɔ - I swear by god

   bapaṅkɔ /bou/ma/tɔmɔ raṇɔ - swearing by father/ mother/ you

   akhi/puɔ muṇḍɔ chũ:chi – Swearing by my eyes/son's head (by touching)

   tumɔku mo raṇɔ , kahaku kɔhibɔ nahĩ – Swear by me, you won't tell anyone.

5. gaḷi – rebuking

   sɔḷa – (lit. wife's brother), scoundrel

   bɔdmas/paji/sɔitan kahĩka – rascal of worst kind.

   raṇḍɔ /khaniki/ɔṇḍira cɔṇḍi – widow/ whore, prostitute/tom boy(for females). These are all slangs and obscene.Less offensive scoldings are,

   murkhɔ/ɔbhɔdrɔ/ɔsɔbhyɔ/boka/cɔgla/dusṭɔ/nirlɔjɔ - silly/ uncouth/ignoble/fool/ bore/ naughty/shameless. etc.

6. bɔktruta – public address

   sɔbhapɔti mɔhodɔyɔ o sɔjjɔnɔ mɔṇḍɔḷi/sudhibrundɔ - President Sir and honourable audience (ladies and gentlemen)

   bɔndhugɔṇ - comrades, friends

7. sɔmbhasɔṇɔ - written address like a letter, invitation card etc.

   ayusman/ayusmɔti – long living (addressing a younger relative, male/female)

   snehɔrɔ - affection (friend)

   priyɔ - dear (general address, but usually not used for female)

   srɔddheyɔ - affection (younger friend, colleague)

sɔmmanɔniyɔ/manɔniyɔ - respectable (sɔmmanɔniya/manɔniya for female)

mɔhasɔyɔ/mɔhasɔya – sir/madam (usual formal written address)

pujyɔ/pujɔniyɔ/pujyaspɔdɔ - revered, respectable (pujɔniya – female)

priyɔtɔmɔ/priyɔtɔma – darling (lovers or spouses address, male/female)

8. closing a written letter, document, etc.

agyãdhinɔ - obidently

binitɔ -sincerely, humble, obliged

subhakaṅkhi – well wisher

snehadhinɔ -affectionately

adɔrɔr – loving

biswɔstɔ - faithfully

guṇɔmugdhɔ - beholden, etc.

———x———